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Prime Minister Nehru in happiest mood.



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# **JAWAHARLAL NEHRU**

## **INSIDE AMERICA**

**(A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY)**

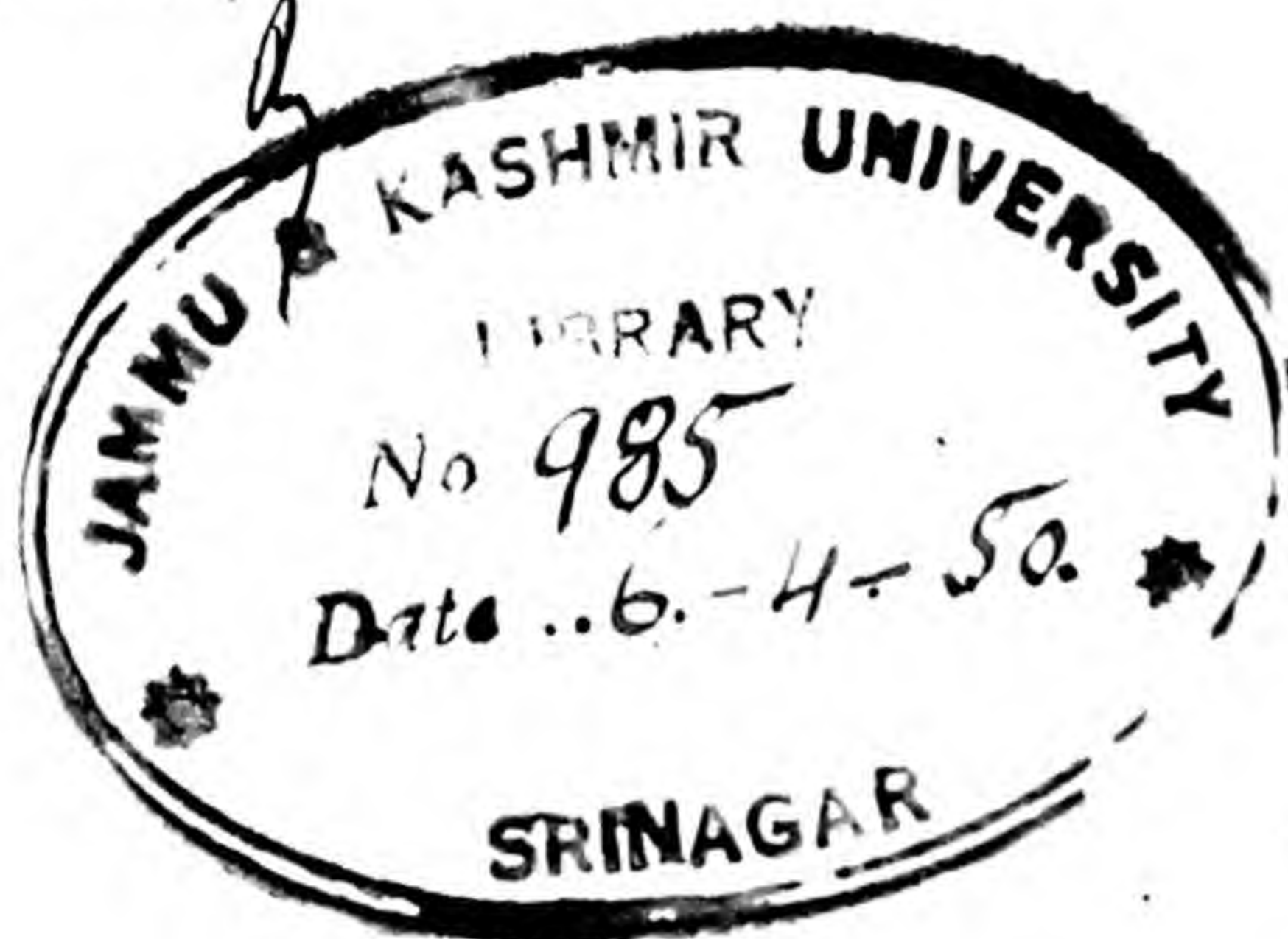
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## **PREFACE**

All speeches delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in America have been brought together in this volume. The speeches compiled here are as reported by the different papers in India. Since some of the papers sent their special correspondents to cover the tour, their divergence of views, wherever possible has been noted. Two speeches delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru in London have been added as an epilogue to the speeches delivered during the American tour.

***Publishers.***



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## INTRODUCTION

“One should not come to America for the first time ! ” said Premier Nehru humorously about his visit to U.S.A.

“What a poise, what dignity, how fine he looks ; hasn't he a Roman face—or is it Greek, gee-whiz, what a man ! ” were the whispers (according to the special correspondent of the Madras Express), one heard exchanged between groups of men and women, from teenagers upwards, who assembled wherever the Prime Minister was scheduled to visit. Pandit Nehru captured the imagination of the people and Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit made a picturesque foil to the august figure.

### Three Landmarks

There are three significant landmarks in the life of Pandit Nehru. First took place in the present territory of Pakistan, the second in India and the third in America. The first happened at Lahore, the second at Delhi and the third at Washington. The first occurred on December 31, 1929, the second on August 15, 1947, and third on October 12, 1949. At Lahore Pandit Nehru raised the flag of Indian independence witnessed by thousands of freedom-intoxicated patriots. The sacred ceremony took place on the banks of the Ravi. On August 15, 1947, from the battlements of the Red Fort, Jawahar Lal declared that the tricolour was the symbol of a free country. At Washington the tricolour flew alongside the star-spangled banner and signified the arrival of Pandit



Nehru in America as a major event in the history of the world.

### **White-and-Chocolate**

Panditji arrived in Washington in a chocolate achkan and a white Gandhi cap. President Truman received Premier Nehru personally at the airport. The American army band played "Jana Gana Mana" with perfect precision and sweetness. The ceremony of reception was conventional but highly impressive. It was exquisitely stamped by the personality of Premier Nehru.

The next day he appeared in a black Homburg and a beautifully-tailored, and gracefully fitting deep blue lounge suit. He laid wreaths on the grave of George Washington to the booming of the guns.

The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, declared at a press conference that the visit of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was highly significant. The dinner at the President's House provided an opportunity to reveal Pandit Nehru the man.

### **No Time For Rest**

Pandit Nehru was down in the engagements up to the neck and he had a very little time for rest. He dozed most of the way during his car journey to and from the Roosevelt home in Hyde Park.

Nine secretaries and a host of aides handled mail and telephone calls for Pandit Nehru. A dozen telephones kept at the Park Avenue hotel for his use were ringing incessantly day and night. The callers represented almost every type of man in America.



## **Dr. Nehru**

Provost Albert Jacobs read the following citation before the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon Pandit Nehru by General Dwight Eisenhower, the President of the Columbia University :

“Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru foremost disciple of the great apostle of Indian freedom, indomitable leader of his people along the thorny path of liberation, wise counsellor and moulder of policies of a re-born nation, renowned interpreter of the aspirations of a great race, his intellectual leadership has combined a profound knowledge of the West with the great heritage and enduring traditions of the East ; a champion of underprivileged people, his devotion to the noble ideals of universal peace and understanding have won for him the respect and the acclaim of all mankind.

“Columbia is proud to welcome him as one of her distinguished sons and to award him the highest honour in her power.”

## **Posing with a Cabbie**

Even in America Pandit Nehru maintained his contact with the common people. The unsurpassed honour done to him in America did not unbalance his outlook.

The New York Daily News published a photograph of Pandit Nehru wearing a lounge suit and Hamburg hat, his arm linked with that of a Boston taxi driver. The caption read :

“A problem is posed. John M. Butler is a Boston cabbie and when he was hailed to drive India's Prime



Minister Nehru to the airport he got a big kick out of it. He would tell his friends. But would they believe him ? The Prime Minister solved the problem by posing with him."

Bravo ! Isn't it like Nehru ? Gandhian ?

### **Reception at Ottawa**

In Canada Pandit Nehru was hailed as the apostle of peace and non-violence in "trumpet tones which no one could mistake" (says the special correspondent of the Hindustan Times). The correspondent continues :

"The reception was just simple. Quite good for Ottawa and one of the best, they said. It was according to the Canadian standard, not Indian. It was much smaller than what Pandit Nehru would have got of old in a wayside Indian village during one of his whirlwind tours. In fact, it was saved from being non-Indian by women in bright saris and the garlands.....

"Nehru stays with the Governor-General at Ottawa while in Washington he preferred to stay at the Indian Embassy. Ah ! Commonwealth is common-wealth. Isn't it so ?"

### **Niagara Falls**

Pandit Nehru was charmed by sight of the Niagara Falls. Fifty extra blankets were supplied to his party at the Niagara Hotel to keep the men free from the cold. Forty dollars a day per suite of rooms were engaged. Pandit Nehru is said to have thirty-one pieces of luggage.

"The Niagara Falls have exceeded my expectations," said Nehru, "and I had expected much."



## **Emissary of Peace**

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. H. St. Laurent, welcomed the Indian Prime Minister as an emissary of peace from the East. He stated that Pandit Nehru's visit to the Western Hemisphere would contribute to world understanding.

Mr. St. Laurent said, "We know that to have peace in the world we must have peace in the whole world."

The Canadian premier told the press, "It is a great honour and privilege for me to welcome to this country His Excellency and his charming sister and daughter."

## **Meeting the Masses**

"At New York Pandit Nehru had told an audience," says the special correspondent of The Times of India, "that he had come to the United States to see men rather than things—he ardently desired to escape from official shackles and to move among the people."

At Chicago he had his heart's desire. He met farmers, professors, workers and plenty of men. The organisers of his itinerary kept the official programme to the minimum. He visited factories and farms and scientific museums.

He had a "harvester's dinner" with his farmer hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Michell. The menu consisted of roast chicken, mashed potatoes, gravy, buttered corn, creamed peas, relishes, cottage cheese, a big dish of celery, raw carrots, and olives, cranberry sauce, apple pie and cheese, and salad made of apples, pineapples, grapes and peanuts.



## **With the Negroes**

The negroes and their leaders were happy to meet Pandit Nehru. K. Rama Rao, special correspondent of the Hindustan Times says :

“The heftiest handshake he received and gave was at the airport when a negro minister and organiser almost pulled his hand out of socket. They have their papers here, though not diaries which it is difficult to run. Their problem is becoming explosive. Pandit Nehru is to them a Messiah. Truman’s Civil Liberties Bill having been defeated in Congress, they do not know what to do. Paul Robeson is their man.”

## **At Vancouver**

The menu and programme of toasts at Vancouver on November 3, 1949, completely revealed and justified the spirit of the speeches made at the civic reception to Pandit Nehru. Asoka’s chakra appeared on the pastry. Toasts were to the king, representing the Commonwealth, to the Prime Minister of India, the new but rising power in the East, and to the President of the U. S. A., the greatest power in the world today.

## **Nehru Legend**

Pandit Nehru’s tour of America has concluded happily. It was useful Voyage of Discovery. The “Nehru Legend” will grow in America slowly and steadily and it will help to raise the status of India.

“*Pandit Nehru,*” says the special correspondent of the Hindustan Times, “*has, by what he has been saying, put India definitely on the way to becoming a third great force in the world, the first two being the U. S. A. and Russia.*”



## ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON

*(October 11, 1949)*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, was officially welcomed by President Truman upon his arrival as a respected leader of a great nation of free people. The President said:

“Mr. Prime Minister, I am very happy to welcome you to this country on behalf of the Government and people of the United States. I greet you not only as the Chief Minister of your Government, but also as the loved and respected leader of a great nation of free people.

“Destiny willed it that our country should have been discovered in the search for a new route to India.

“I extend to you the hospitality and good will of the people of the United States with the hope that your visit among us will leave you with the firm conviction that we are indeed your warm friends.”

The Prime Minister expressed the hope that the Western and Eastern world “will find many ways of working together in friendly and fruitful co-operation for their mutual advantage and the good of all humanity.”



## A TALK WITH PRESIDENT

(October 12, 1949)

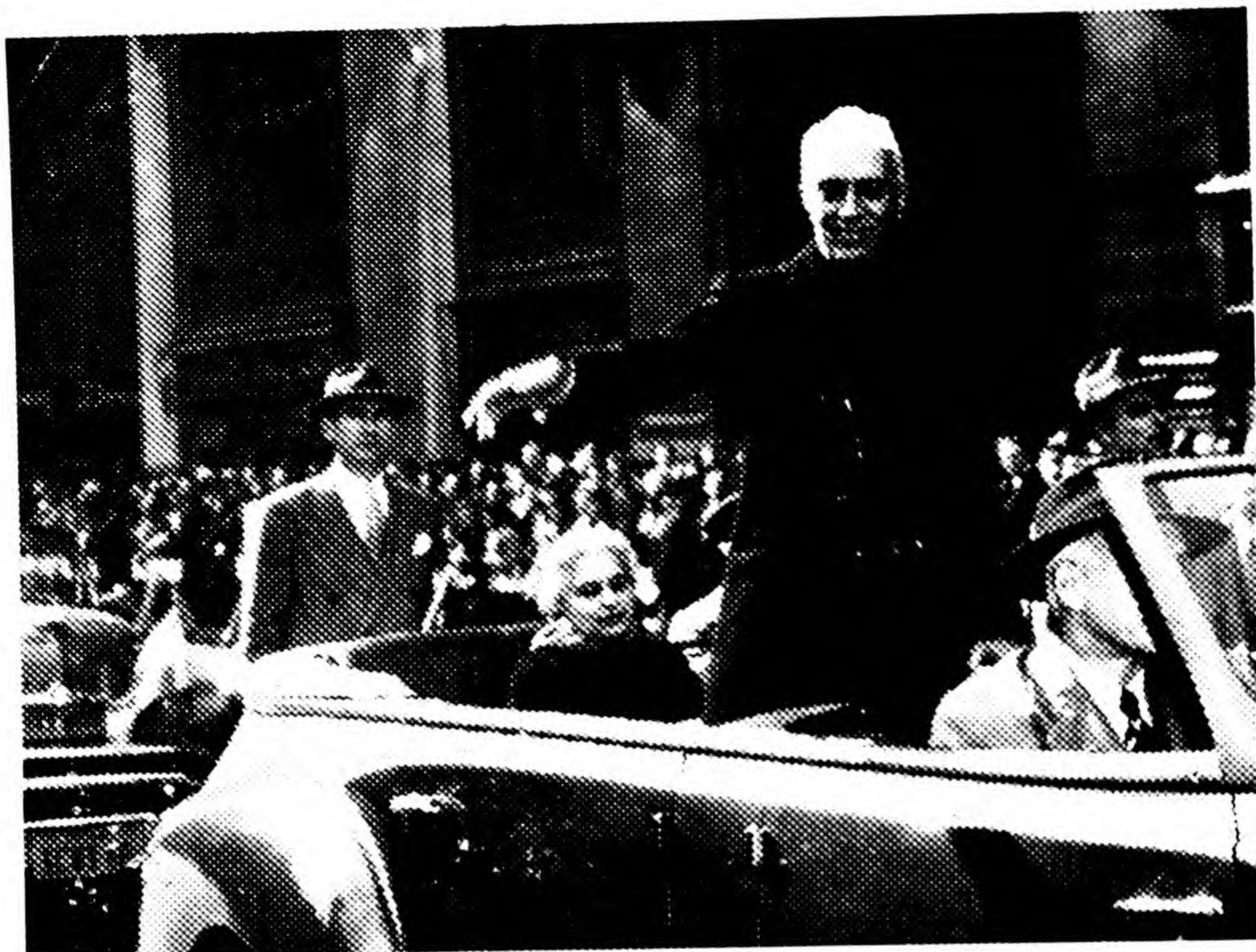
President Truman and Pandit Nehru met for a long private conference last night, the White House announced on October 12.

Mr. Charles Ross, the White House Press Secretary said they "did not discuss business at all. It was purely social."

He said the informal conference took place at the President's official residence, Blair House, after dinner. The meeting lasted "an hour or two."

Mr. Ross reported that during a part of the meeting the Prime Minister's sister and daughter were present. Mr. Ross quoted the President as saying: "It was a very pleasant occasion and I enjoyed talking with him very much." *Washington Post* said that Pandit Nehru's tour will make "a dramatic meeting of the East and the West."





Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, visited New York City, where he was greeted by Mayor William O'Dwyer.



Prime Minister Nehru received an official welcome in New York City.



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## ADDRESS TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

*(October 13, 1949)*

Full text of Nehru's address to the U.S. Congress follows:

I deem it a high honour and privilege to be given this opportunity of addressing this honourable house, and I must express to you, Sir, my gratitude for it. For this house represents in a large measure this great republic which is playing such a vital part in the destinies of mankind today.

I have come to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people, and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective people and make those strong and sometimes invisible links, stronger even than the physical links, that bind countries together.

The president referred the day before yesterday, in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The United States of America are not an unknown country even in far-off India and many of us have grown up in admiration for the ideals and objectives which have made this country great. Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries, what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other, even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful co-operation in the pursuit of common ideals. What the world today perhaps lacks most is understanding



and appreciation of each other among nations and peoples. I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus we may promote that understanding and co-operation which, I feel sure, both our countries earnestly desire. Already I have received a welcome here the generous warmth of which has created a deep impression on my mind and indeed somewhat overwhelmed me.

During the last two days that I have been in Washington, I have paid visits to the memorials of the great builders of this nation. I have done so not for the sake of mere formality, but because they have long been enshrined in my heart and their example had inspired me as it had inspired innumerable countrymen of mine. These memorials are the real temples to which each generation must pay tribute and, in doing so, must catch something of the fire that burnt in the hearts of those who were the torch-bearers of freedom not only for this country, but for the world ; for those who are truly great have a message that cannot be confined within a particular country but is for all the world.

In India there came a man in our own generation who inspired us to great endeavour, ever reminding us that thought and action should never be divorced from the moral principle, that the true path of man is truth and peace. Under his guidance we laboured for the freedom of our country, with ill-will to none, and achieved that freedom. We called him reverently and affectionately the father of our nation. Yet he was too great for the circumscribed borders of any one country, and



the message he gave may well help us in considering the wider problems of the world.

The United States of America have struggled to freedom and unparalleled prosperity during the past century and a half and today they are a great and powerful nation. They have an amazing record of growth in material well-being and scientific and technological advance. They could not have done so unless they had not been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of their history, for material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.

These principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It may interest you to know that in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India we have been greatly influenced by your own constitution. The preamble of our constitution states that :

“We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ; equality of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of nations ; in our Constituent



Assembly do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

You will recognize in these words that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your republic. You will see that though India may speak to you with a voice that you may not immediately recognize or that may perhaps appear somewhat alien to you, yet in that voice there is a strong resemblance to what you have often heard before.

Yet it is true that India's voice is somewhat different; it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the older world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilization, distinctive, vital, which at the same time has renewed itself and learned much from you and the other countries of the West. It is, therefore, both old and new. It has its roots deep in the past, but it also has the dynamic urges of today.

But however much the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours. Like you, we shall be a republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of the great republic.

In a vast country like India, as in this great republic of the United States, it becomes necessary to have a delicate balance between central control and state autonomy. We have placed in the forefront of our constitution those fundamental human rights to which



all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter therefore the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people.

We have achieved political freedom but our revolution is not yet complete and is still in progress, for political freedom without the assurance to the right to live and to pursue happiness, which economic progress alone can bring, can never satisfy a people. Therefore, our immediate task is to raise the living standards of our people and to remove all that comes in the way of the economic growth of the nation.

We have tackled the major problem of India, it is today the major problem of Asia, the agrarian problem. Much that was feudal in our system of land tenure is being changed so that the fruits of cultivation should go to the tiller of the soil and he should be secure in the possession of the land that he cultivates. In a country of which agriculture is still the principal industry, this reform is essential not only to the well-being and contentment of the individual, but also to the stability of society.

One of the main causes of social instability in many parts of the world, and more especially in Asia, is agrarian discontent due to the continuance of systems of land tenure which are completely out of place in the modern world. Another, and this is also true of the greater part of Asia and Africa, is the low standard of living of the masses,



India is industrially more developed than many less fortunate countries, and is reckoned as the seventh or eighth among the world's industrial nations. But this arithmetical distinction cannot conceal the poverty of the great majority of our people. To remove this poverty by greater production, more equitable distribution, better education and better health is the paramount problem and the most pressing task before us and we are determined to accomplish it.

We realize that self-help is the first condition of success for a nation no less than for an individual. We are conscious that ours must be the primary effort, and we shall seek succour from none to escape from any part of our own responsibility. But though our economic potential is great, its conversion into finished wealth will need much mechanical and technological aid. We shall, therefore, gladly welcome such aid and co-operation on terms which are of mutual benefit. We believe that this may well help in the larger solution of the problems that confront the world. But we do not seek any material advantage in exchange for any part of our hard-won freedom.

The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and the enlargement of human freedom. Two tragic wars have demonstrated the futility of warfare. Victory without the will to peace achieves no lasting result and victorious and vanquished alike suffer from past wounds, deep and grievous, and a common fear of the future. May I venture to say that this is not an incorrect description of the world to-day. It is not flattering either to man's reason or to our



common humanity. Must this unhappy state persist and the power of science and wealth continue to be harnessed to the service of destruction ? Every nation, great or small, has to answer this question, and the greater a nation, the greater is its responsibility to find and to work for the right answer.

India may be new to world politics, and her military strength insignificant by comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history, she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that arose Mahatma Gandhi and he taught us a technique of action which was peaceful and yet it was effective and yielded results which led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were till yesterday in conflict. How far can that principle be applied to wider spheres of action ? I do not know. For circumstances differ and the means to prevent evil have to be shaped and set to the nature of the evil.

Yet I have no doubt that the basic approach which lay behind that technique of action was the right approach in human affairs and the only approach that ultimately solves a problem satisfactorily. We have to achieve freedom and to defend it. We have to meet aggression and to resist it, and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose. But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of,



and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim, and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear.

This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for, and endeavour to practice in our own imperfect way, is a binding faith in peace, and an un-failing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it.

The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and co-operation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace.



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Prime Minister addressing the U. S House of Representatives in Washington.



Prime Minister, places wreaths on the Tombs of George and Martha Washington, the historic estate of the Nation's First President.



## TRIBUTE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

*(October 13, 1949)*

### **“ Father of the American Nation ”**

Pandit Nehru began his three day's programme in Washington with a visit to the National Art Gallery where he spent about an hour before going to deliver his address before the House of Representatives.

Pandit Nehru was accompanied by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian Ambassador, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Pandit Nehru showed great interest in the Italian paintings. He stood for a long time in front of Vio-vanni Sellini's "Feast of the Gods".

The 18th century American school of painting again attracted Pandit Nehru's attention, particularly the painting of "George Washington's Family" by Edward Savage, painted from life in 1796.

Starting from Blair House on October 12, Pandit Nehru and party drove slowly in four limousines, covering a 16-mile journey from the city to Mount Vernon in about 40 minutes.

The route lay through the rolling hills of Virginia and along the banks of the Potomac river. On both sides of the road, trees and shrubs were aflame with colour, their tints variegated with the early autumn foliage.

Wide lawns flanked the road on either side, and the scenery must have reminded Pandit Nehru of a drive in the hills of Kashmir along the banks of the Jhelum river.



On arrival at Mount Vernon, Pandit Nehru was met by Mrs. Frances Bolton, Congresswoman of Ohio, who is one of the Regents of the Mount Vernon Trust.

Mrs. Bolton took Pandit Nehru and party on a tour of the estate. Pandit Nehru showed great interest in every item showed to him, which had a connection with George Washington and his family.

Before making a detailed tour of the historic house, Mrs. Bolton made a short address in which she said it was a great privilege to welcome the Indian Prime Minister.

Pandit Nehru described George Washington as one of the greatest sons of U.S.A. and a great leader and said it was an honour and a privilege to pay a tribute to his memory.

Pandit Nehru, accompanied by Mrs. Pandit and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, went through all rooms of the 200-years-old house.

He examined with minute interest every personal effect associated with the "Father of the American Nation." The tour of the house lasted about an hour. Every one in the party, including Pandit Nehru, appeared to have been impressed at the perfect condition in which the original furniture and other articles in the Washington Home had been preserved and maintained.

The following tribute was paid by Pandit Nehru to George Washington ;



“It is a great honour and privilege for me to visit this not only a historical place but a temple of liberty, where not only one who is the greatest American but one of the very great men who have trod the earth, lived and worked, and who built the American nation as a temple of liberty. And so coming here I am happy to pay my homage and my country's homage to his memory.”

Before leaving, Mrs. Bolton presented Pandit Nehru with a book of maxims of George Washington and expressed the hope that it would always make him remember his visit to Mount Vernon. Pandit Nehru thanked Mrs. Bolton for the present.

Coming into the main hall, Pandit Nehru signed the visitors' register. India's Prime Minister signed “Jawaharlal Nehru New Delhi.” India's Ambassador signed “Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.”

### **Arlington Cemetery**

Pandit Nehru was received at the Arlington Cemetery by Col. J. T. Cole Commandant of the Washington Military District, who led him to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Before he arrived at the tomb, three U.S. Army men, bearing the Indian National Flag, presented arms to Pandit Nehru. These three soldiers, carrying the Indian National Flag, led the way for Pandit Nehru and party into a quadrangle, where a guard of honour consisting of men from the U.S. Armed Service was drawn up.

An army band played the *Jana Gana Mana*.



Pandit Nehru, accompanied by Col. Cole, then went up to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and laid a wreath at the foot of the monument. The guard meanwhile, presented arms.

A salute of 19 guns was fired by an army battery, both when Pandit Nehru arrived and departed from the Memorial.

Pandit Nehru was wearing the Western dress.

The ceremonies at Mount Vernon and the Unknown Soldier's Tomb were viewed by several hundred spectators, many of whom commented on the gracious manner of the Indian leader.

“Nehru is the synthesis of the East and the West, of Gandhi's ancient India and the halls of Lake Success”  
—*New York Times*.



## **POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE TOUR**

*( New York : October 14, 1949 )*

**The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson's statement on Pandit Nehru's visit at the Press conference of October 13, is highly significant. It shows the wisdom of not plucking a fruit before its time. The Press has obviously taken up the official hint, because there is a definite tendency to allow Pandit Nehru to understand the American mind before he can make up his own on issues of common interest.**

Not the least important factor is the American recognition of the outstanding fact that there is overwhelming support of the Indian people behind India's neutrality for the present and the policy to resist the temptation of joining blocs. The State Department, meanwhile, is reconsidering certain important issues in the light of fresh events. Pandit Nehru's tour must go through before any issues can be really tackled. The U.S. Ambassador in Delhi, Mr Loy Henderson, has proved extremely useful in preparing the background of the present visit and has actually perfected the details of the programme outside the political field. It is not the talks during the visit but the developments after the visit that would be worthwhile to watch.

Meanwhile, Pandit Nehru is in excellent spirits. The dinner at the President's House provided an opportunity to reveal Nehru the man.

Mr Acheson said at Press conference of October 13, that if Pandit Nehru for his part raised any questions, his Department would be prepared to discuss them.



Highly enigmatic as the observation is, it is, nevertheless, a significant indication suggesting postponement of consideration of critical issues.

A local paper has made it clear that India has stated in advance of the visit that she is not seeking economic aid. That may be right, but India has been and will be receiving loans from the International Bank, and actually it is all American money. India has no undue desire to take advantage of American eagerness to use her to combat Communism in South-East Asia, but will want important inter-related issues like recognition of Red China and the independence of Indonesia to be concurrently, if not previously, settled.

The Indonesian question is in the twilight stage. India is advising either side not to higggle-haggle over financial questions, however important when the major question of independence has been settled.

### **China**

Regarding China, India is morally bound to take notice of the fact that China belongs to the Asian family and is her neighbour, with whom it would be best to be on peaceful terms.

The London report that Pandit Nehru urged Mr. Attlee to tell the U.S.A. to recognize the Red China regime is believed to contain an indication of the fact that Britain is eager, in view of her vast investments in North China, to use India to put pressure on the U.S.A. to recognize China.

The U.S. State Department's views are halting, and will await Mr. Philip Jessup's return from the Far East.



## **Kashmir**

It is inconceivable that the knotty problem of Kashmir will not be discussed during the present visit. Presumably Pakistan's views are being taken into consideration and adverse reactions to what might appear to be a pro-Indian policy have to be avoided. It is expected that the result of the visit would be to tell America definitely where India stands on the issue. To sum up, though apparently this is going to be a sight-seeing expedition with a little business almost absent-mindedly thrown in, it is really a visit of profound exploration preliminary to pacts of friendship in due course of time.



## EAST MEETING WEST

(*New York: October 15, 1949*)

“Pandit Nehru made an appeal for recognition of the “powerful individuality” of India and her emerging position in Asia. He said he opposed a world in which everyone thought and acted alike”—(*American Newsfile* dated October 15, 1949).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru left behind him in Washington the profound impression in official circles that one of the most historic meetings between East and West had taken place.

Both public and private reactions to the Indian Prime Minister's four days' stay in Washington made it clear that no visit since the war-time appearances of Mr. Winston Churchill had left such a stirring impression.

President Truman spoke both publicly and privately of his personal admiration for a great public servant. The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, spoke of Pandit Nehru as an equal of the fathers of the American nation itself such as Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson.

Official Washington has now settled down to a study of the statements made by the Prime Minister with a view to a detailed formulation of United States policy towards India. In his public statements, the Prime Minister laid down certain basic principles of Indian foreign policy.

He made it clear: (1) That India would not remain neutral in the event of aggression or any threat to





India's Premier addresses National Press Club, Washington.



Prime Minister Nehru places a wreath on the grave of Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Hyde Park, New York.



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freedom or justice. This was not interpreted here to mean that India would be an automatically of the United States in what is called the "cold war" against Russia. But it was interpreted to mean that India's role in world affairs would not be a passive one. It was noted that the Prime Minister in his address to Congress said that aggression must be "resisted" but "the force employed must be adequate to the purpose."

(2) That the primary purpose of Indian policy was to raise the standard of living of the Indian people and that American aid would be welcomed both in the form of capital investment and mechanical and technological assistance.

(3) That the raising of the standard of living of India and of Asia was necessary to give the social stability which was the best safeguard against Communism.

(4) That there must be no colonial exploitation of India and that aid should be given without any condition which might involve a sacrifice of Indian sovereignty, independence and freedom.

(5) That India, without seeking it, had become the leader of Asia and that isolation had become as impossible for India in the East as for the United States in the West.

It can be stated authoritatively that no decisions were sought or reached on any proposals emanating from these basic premises by the Prime Minister in his talk with United States Government leaders. A general understanding of each other's point of view and of common purposes was achieved,



The Prime Minister did not seek to precipitate a conclusion on the many subjects affecting India under discussion here—the implementation of President Truman's "Point-Four" programme for assisting in developing the under-developed areas of the world and the possibility of loans to India from the World Bank and the United States Export-Import Bank.

He did, however, succeed in creating an atmosphere in which Indian officials here will be able to discuss such proposals with American officials in greater intimacy backed by a closer understanding of each other's general point of view.

#### PANDIT NEHRU ADDRESSES "HERALD TRIBUNE" FORUM

Pandit Nehru, Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi, Indian Ambassador to the United States and Defence Secretary Mr. Louis Johnson, spoke on October 26 at the closing session of the eighteenth annual *New York Herald Tribune* forum.

Pandit Nehru's message was broadcast from Chicago during the session on the "interdependence of world problems."

Other speakers at the closing session were Mr. Sherman Cooper, United States delegate to the United Nations, Miss Barbara Ward, Foreign Editor of *The Economist* of London, Miss Dorothy Posdick, the only woman member of the States Department's Policy Planning Staff and Mr. David Owen, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of economic affairs,



The theme of the forum according to PTI is: "What kind of Government ahead? The responsibility of every citizen."

His arrival from Washington on October 15, in the personal constellation plane of the Defence Secretary, Mr. Louis Johnson, was a heartening mixture of official informal acclaim.

### WASHINGTON PAPER'S TRIBUTE

*The Post* said editorially on October 15, that Pandit Nehru seems to be the exception to the rule that a lifetime spent in conspiracy makes a man unfit for statesmanship when the need has gone for conspiracy.

It said Pandit Nehru does not seem to have become wedded to the devious ways which he must have contracted when he was leading the nation's struggle for independence.

"He looks and speaks without a trace of the rebelliousness of his background," *The Post* said.



## TRIBUTE TO ROOSEVELT

*(New York: October 16, 1949)*

### **“ One of the Greatest Men in the World ”**

Pandit Nehru drove to Hyde Park on his first morning in New York to pay tribute to the memory of the late President Roosevelt, whose home on a wooded plateau overlooking the quiet Hudson river here is now a national shrine. He laid a wreath on the ex-President's grave after motoring 90 miles from New York.

Later Pandit Nehru and his party lunched with Mrs. Roosevelt. He was accompanied by his sister, Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi and his daughter Mrs. Indra Gandhi.

The section of hilly wooded country in which Hyde Park is located is one of the prettiest in New York State. Prime Minister Nehru's trip was made in typical autumn weather, cold but with bright sunshine. On his way Pandit Nehru saw a large number of Liberty ships now tied up in the Hudson river. The only incident in the journey occurred when a policeman in the motor cycle escort was thrown from his machine as it skidded on the smooth cobble-stones on the outskirts of Hyde Park. The policeman escaped injury.

The wreath which Pandit Nehru laid on the grave was made of white chrysanthemum. The ceremony was very impressive and the Prime Minister was visibly moved as he stood bareheaded at the foot of the grave with Mrs. Roosevelt by his side.

Earlier, Mrs. Roosevelt welcoming Pandit Nehru said “I am very happy to greet you and I know it



would have given my husband great pleasure had he been here to greet you. He had great admiration for the leadership you gave to your people and I know he would have felt that in coming to the United States you were bringing to us some of that moral leadership we feel so strongly in you. So I am happy you came up to our home to which he always brought people whom he loved and respected. I am glad to have you here, Mr. Prime Minister."

Speaking with emotion the Prime Minister said: "This is a great and solemn moment for me to visit a place where one of the greatest men of our generation lived and laboured for great causes.

"For many years I have wished to pay my respects to him. It was a great sorrow to me that I could never meet him personally. But we knew the very great work that he has done for humanity."

Thanking Mrs. Roosevelt for her "gracious words" Pandit Nehru expressed great pleasure in meeting her "not only for the great work she had been doing as the partner of her husband when he was alive but for the work she was doing now for humanity."

### **Visit to Library**

The Indian Prime Minister saw among the vast collection of Roosevelt mementoes two exquisitely carved South Indian tables which were presented by an Indian friend and which now have a prominent place in the museum.

Pandit Nehru paid special interest to articles that had played an important part in President Roosevelt's



administrative work. He tarried quite a while at a glass case containing manuscripts of some of Roosevelt's most important speeches, showing last-minute corrections made in pencil or ink and in some in both. Likewise, the Prime Minister halted and gazed with awe at the contents of the room used by President Roosevelt as his study.

Mrs. Roosevelt explained to Mr. Nehru that President Roosevelt made some of his war-time radio speeches from this room. The party then proceeded to the late President's library in an adjoining building, which contains some of the most precious books and documents on international affairs collected by the late President.

Mrs. Roosevelt said the library was being used by students of history as a research centre and the documents collected by President Roosevelt had helped considerably in the students research work.

The party then made their way to the rose garden, in the centre of the 33-acre grounds. Here they saw the grave of President Roosevelt surrounded by a century-old hemlock hedge and partly filled with roses. The grave is a plain white marble tomb and lies in the centre of a large rectangular grass plot bordered by perennial flowers. The tomb was executed according to minute instructions drawn up by President Roosevelt himself in 1937. The marble is from the same quarry in Vermont which produced the stone used for the Thomas Jefferson memorial in Washington.



Last night Pandit Nehru, accompanied by his sister and Mrs. Indra Gandhi, his daughter, slipped out of their hotel for a short while and saw the scintillating lights of New York's Broadway for the first time. Apart from a lone secret-service man, the Prime Minister's car was unescorted.

“Nehru has brought his country far along the highway of its new independence.” ---*Star*



## ADDRESS TO COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*(October 17, 1949)*

(Following is the text of the address made Monday, October 17, by Prime Minister Pandit Nehru at the special convocation at Columbia University, where he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.)

Mr. President (Dwight D. Eisenhower) :

I am deeply grateful to this great university and to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. It is an honour to be associated with this University and with the many men of learning and seekers after truth of this University and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace adds to its value.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as a Prime Minister of a great country or a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find the way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held. The process is always difficult but it becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today.

Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day world and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine those two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher-kings ?



You, Sir, who have had the experience of a role of a great man of action and also that of a philosopher as head of this university, should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet, how are we to act even in the present unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a University that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women who are in the University to-day, and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standard values that there is hope for the next generation.

The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two world wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom of man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that, even after that price was paid, we failed to purchase real peace, nor a cessation of conflict, and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues to go the same way which led previously to disaster.

We have had wars and we have had victory and we have celebrated that victory, yet, what is victory and how do we measure it? A war is fought presumably to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the re-



removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and indeed is no real victory. We have seen, however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy and the other and real objective is often forgotten. The result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem or if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time given rise to many other and sometimes worse problems. Therefore, it becomes necessary to have the real objectives clear in our minds at all times, whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving that objective.

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, but the means are wrong, that will deviate the end or divert us into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past, but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you, not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict, and enforced leisure. The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to sub-



ordinate means to ends. We were not worthy of him and yet to the best of our ability we tried to follow his teaching. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords a parallel to a solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and co-operative relations. It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the nations have faded away giving place to co-operation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this co-operation as an independent nation.

I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way. But may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world to-day? That revolution demonstrated to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us important part that physical force has played. But it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril.

To-day this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate. Must the twentieth



century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficiency of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction ? I do believe, in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation and solve the problem that faces us.

I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of the truth by his fellowmen. Nevertheless, the basic truth remains truth and is always to be kept in view and, so far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

India is a very old country with a great past. But is a new country also with new urges and desires. Since August 1947, she has been in a position to pursue her foreign policy. She was limited by the realities of the situation which we could not ignore or overcome. But even so she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, howsoever effectively, the theory to reality in so far as she could. In the family of nations she was a new-comer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase her power and influence. A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left.



Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest. The main objectives of that policy are : the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue ; the liberation of subject peoples ; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual ; the elimination of racial discrimination, and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the great part of the world's population.

I am asking frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations, and told that because we have refrained from doing so, we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understandable, because in times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as other than ir-responsible, short-sighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly. But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and a vital policy which flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but is also of paramount importance to the world.



How can that peace be preserved? Not by surrendering to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by talking and preparing for war. Aggression has to be met, for that endangers peace. At the same time, the lesson of the last two wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way. The very process of a marshalling of the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it has sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said: There is nothing really to fear except fear itself.

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and ultimately putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then.

We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the United Nations and intend to abide by them. We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure of service. But that can only be effectively in our own way and of our own choice.

We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy both on the political and the economic plane, for no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and



inequality. Our immediate needs are for economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world.

We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings and claim no superior virtue, but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom. That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference, nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, will be a betrayal of what we have sought for and stand for.

If we seek to ensure peace we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world ?

One of the basic causes is the domination of, or the attempt to dominate, one country by another. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. France, Holland, Portugal still have territories over which they rule. But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most of the Western empires in Asia. In Indonesia, I hope that there will soon be an independent sovereign state. We



hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however, is subject to foreign powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear.

Secondly, there is the problem of racial relations. The progress of some races in knowledge or their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most openly and most insolently exhibited. It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history. The West has too often denied the Asian and the African and still, in many places, denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness. This is one of the great danger points of our modern world ; and now that Asia and Africa are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range of consequences. One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree,



but unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries and, in particular, in Asia and Africa. In the West, though the war has brought much misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort—he has food, clothes, and shelter to some extent.

The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessities of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive race of the revolutionary. Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery—these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy, then other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.

Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations ; others we hope will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa. This process should proceed rapidly, and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it. We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres, but even more so with the minds of Asia becoming passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order. The problems of this awaken-



ing will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives, and a common effort to realize them. The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments, that is an outstanding feature of many national budgets to-day, does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purpose, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

That is India's view, offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of good will, in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking, but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all and on its merits I venture to place it before you.



## ROUSING WELCOME BY NEW YORKERS

*(October 17, 1949)*

Nehru was given a rousing welcome by great crowds lining New York's traditional parade route for honour guests as he was escorted through packed streets and cheering thousands to the City Hall where Mayor O' Dwyer extended him the city's official welcome.

Nehru expressed the hope that the United States and India may co-operate in the larger causes of peace and freedom in the world.

Following is the text of Nehru's remarks:

“Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

“I have come here a simple man, from a country of simple ways. I have come to this great and proud city of New York and you have offered me the welcome, full of pomp and ceremony. I am deeply grateful to you for that and I am even more grateful, if I may say so, for the friendly welcome that so many of you that were in the streets through which we passed gave me. You looked at me with friendly eyes and friendly faces and that conveyed more to me than even, if I may say so, the great ceremony which surrounded me. For, I have come here to this great country and to this great city which has become in the course of time the nerve centre of the world, this great country which through work and struggle has achieved this pinnacle of greatness and on which now is thrust, whether she wills it or not, a great measure of responsibility in world affairs so, I have come here. In many ways, naturally, many



of us in far parts of the world are rather dazzled by the wealth and prosperity of this country. But what has brought me here, is not merely to look out of curiosity on these great emblems of wealth and power and prosperity, but I have been attracted even more by that background of freedom which this country has had .....its struggle for freedom, its championship of the cause of freedom in other countries. Because that found an answering echo in our hearts and we felt that, however much we might differ from one another, there was a great deal in common also and so I came here. And I expected a friendly welcome, because those from your country who had visited my country had come through often enough as friends and we had met there, so I expected a friendly welcome.”

“But I must confess to you that I have been rather overwhelmed by the exceedingly warm cordiality and friendliness that I have met here, everywhere, from the President of the United States, from Washington, and in New York. And now, you, Sir, Mr. Mayor, have given me this great welcome in this mighty city. I can assure you, Mr. Mayor, that I heartily reciprocate the sentiments to which you have just given expression. I wish with all my heart that your great country and mine may co-operate in the larger causes of peace and freedom in the world.

We are separated and we are far away, but to-day distance doesn't count and even though we might have our separate problems, often enough. We have to face common problems. Often enough, we have to co-operate



together in their solution. We may have our different ways of looking at things. That is natural, because our backgrounds are different, our geographical position is different, and we have grown up in different ways of life. We have to understand that. We have to understand and appreciate differences sometimes in order to find out the basic similarity and unity ; and therefore, I hope that it will be given to us in India and to you here, to work together for these big causes and to face the big problems of the world together.

“I thank you most heartily, Mr. Mayor, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for this very generous welcome that you have given me.”

### **O'Dwyer Praises Nehru**

The text of Mayor O'Dwyer's remarks follow :

“New York City's honoured guest to-day stands at the head of a free nation of 355 million people. That nation reveres him as one who struggled for its independence. All India reveres him, because he fought for that independence to the sacrifice of his health and his personal freedom. But through the years, the people of India heard his strong voice when, as a follower of the great Mahatma Gandhi, he pleaded the cause of freedom for India. To-day, the Premier carries with him the spiritual legacy of Gandhi in his endless search for world peace and justice. He has firmly held to the principles of Gandhi. This great man who understands the culture and complex



problems of India has come to the United States for the first time. Let us welcome him as a representative of a great nation that is at the same time old and new. Let us here in New York City help him to understand the culture of America and we greet him to-day, let us to assure him that this nation, so truly represented by the people of the city of New York, is with him on the side of freedom for all nations of the world.

“Ladies and gentlemen, there have been many receptions to great men and women on this hollowed spot on which we stand to-day. We find a man who knew, because he learned, to bring peace, even without force. We find a man who represents the one thing to-day in this world that lives, that can give peace, not alone to India but the nations of the entire world. It is a great joy to me, as mayor of this city, to give him the hearty welcome that our city wants to give him, to make him feel that we understand him, to ask him to have patience and understand us. He will, because we mean what he means.

“We will settle for nothing less than a guarantee to the unborn that this world will one day be a peaceful world where all people will understand one another. To the Premier, my heartiest welcome.”



## NEW YORK CIVIC RECEPTION

*(October 17, 1949.)*

### **Achievements of the U. S.**

Replying to Mayor O'Dwyer's welcome speech at the civic reception at the New York City Hall, Pandit Nehru said that the U.S. through work and struggle, had achieved a pinnacle of progress in world affairs and whether she liked it or not there had been thrust upon her a great measure of responsibility in world affairs.

He said : "Naturally, many of us are struck by the wealth and prosperity of this country but what has brought me here is not this wealth and prosperity—I have been attracted by the championship of freedoms which the U.S. has always shown, and because that championship has found an answering echo in our hearts.

"Although there are things in which the U.S. and India differ, there is a great deal in common between the two countries. There are many things in which your country and mine can co-operate in cause of peace and freedom in this world. Distance does not count.

"Despite geographical positions and some of the different ways of thinking in certain places, there is a basic similarity in the approach of the two countries to world problems.

"I hope it will be possible for us to work together for the big causes of the world. I thank you most heartily, Mr. Mayor, for this generous welcome."

Cheers from the 10,000 people crowded in the City Hall plaza echoed around the skyscraper-bound civic hall when Pandit Nehru ended his speech.



The sun shone brilliantly throughout the proceedings and crowds of office workers leaving nearby buildings for the lunch hour joined the spectators round the hall.

Pandit Nehru spoke in a firm voice and his appeal for Indian and American co-operation to solve common problems was particularly applauded.

After the speech Pandit Nehru inspected a parade of the units and bands which took part in the procession.

They marched past the rostrum and Pandit Nehru wearing a woollen jacket and a white Gandhi cap stood at the salute most of the time.

Fluttering from the top of the building were the flags of India and the U.S. All the cars used in the cavalcade were also decorated with the flags of the two countries.

On the rostrum with Pandit Nehru, Mayor O'Dwyer, and high city officials were the Prime Minister's sister Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi and Mrs. Krishna Hutheesingh, his daughter Mrs. Indra Gandhi, members of the delegation to the U.N., Sir G. S. Bajpai, and Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America.

Civic officials who had attended similar previous receptions for foreign dignitaries at New York City Hall said that to-day's reception to Pandit Nehru was one of the most outstanding they had seen.

### **India's Worst Problem**

When Pandit Nehru visited a class of New York children on October 17 the children asked him whether his



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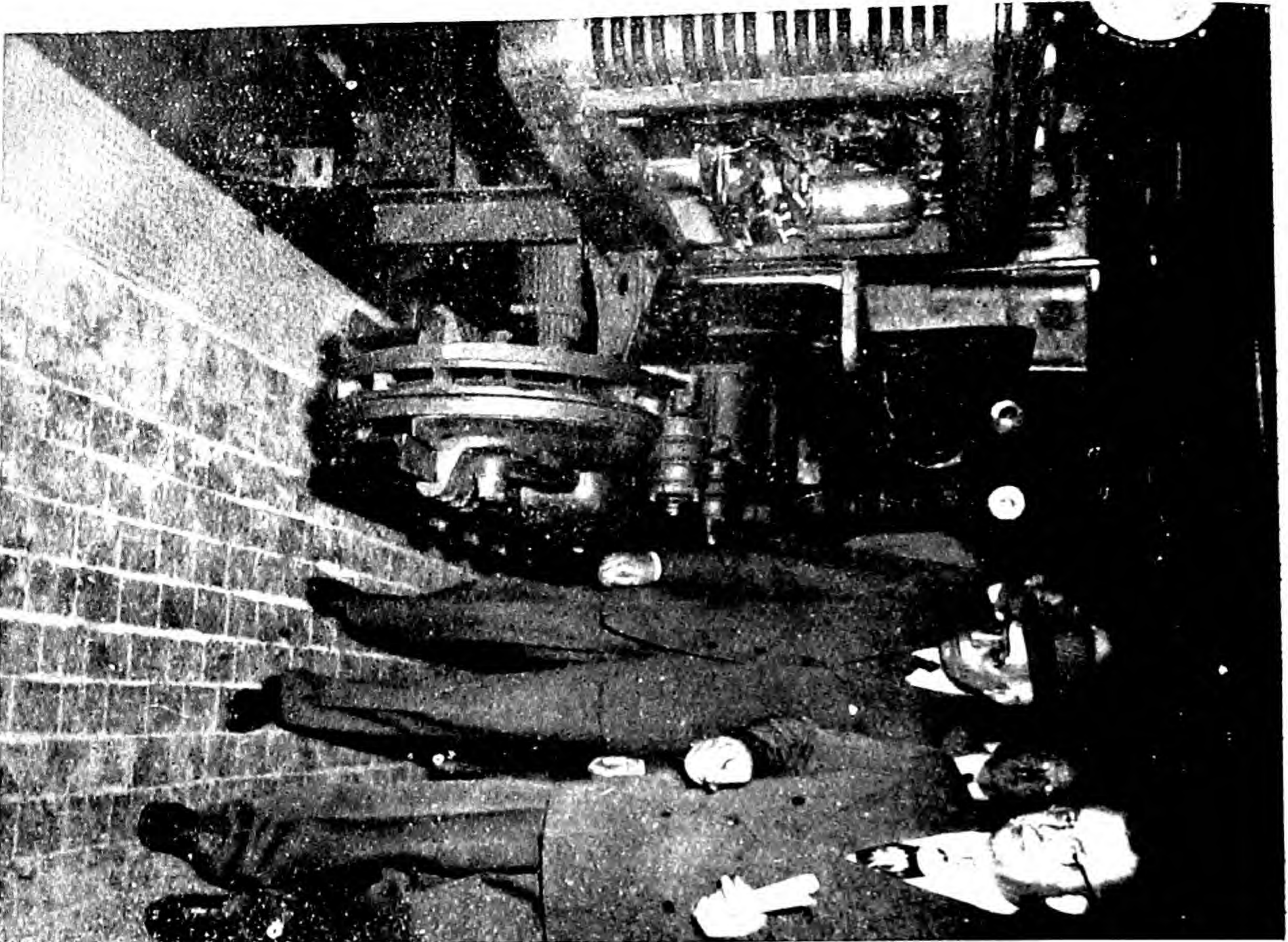
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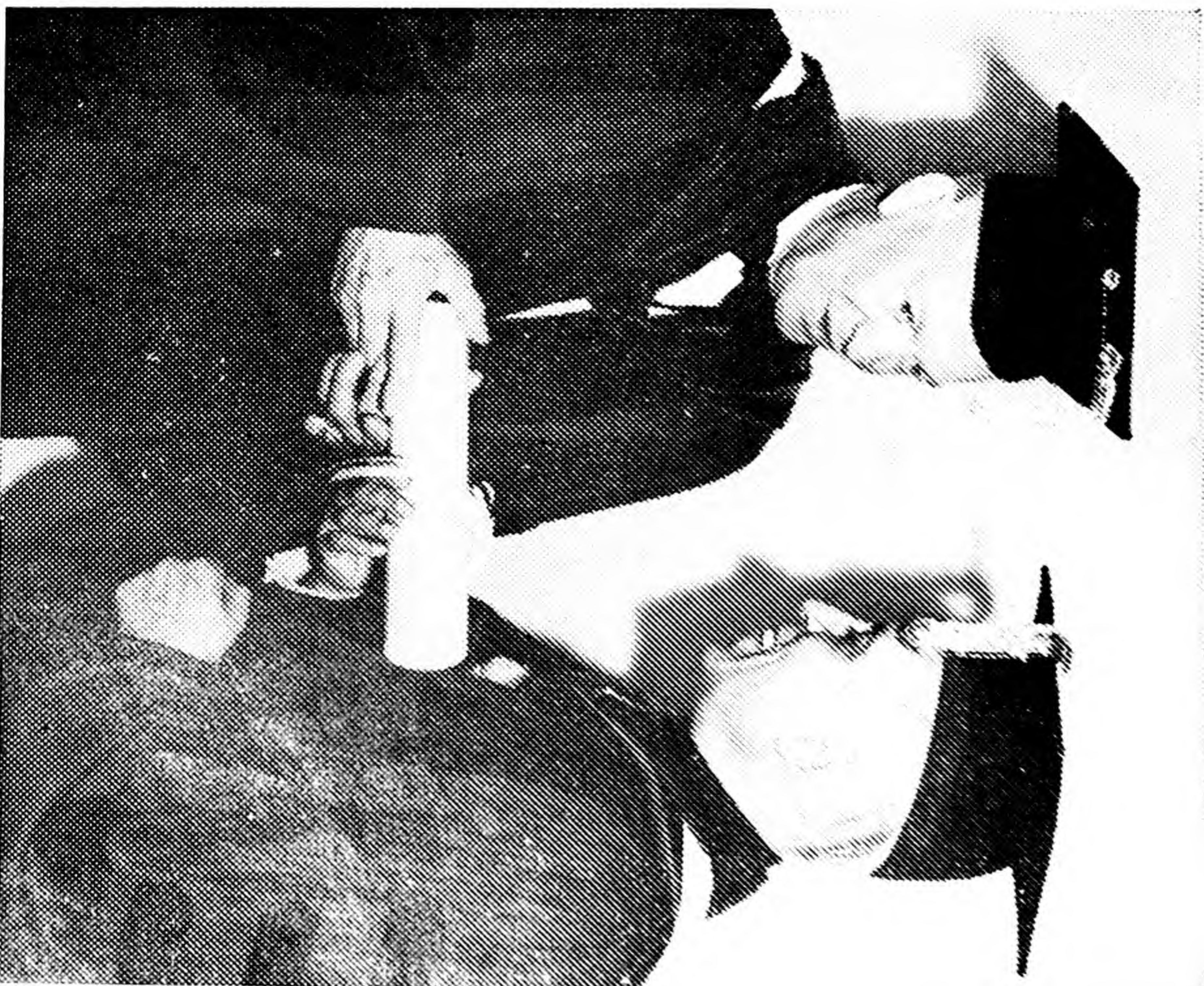
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Prime Minister sees Asia's Hope in Machines Chicago



Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Columbia University



people still followed the teachings of Gandhi. He told them that not all of them followed the teachings implicitly, but that they revered him.

“What is the worst problem in India, to-day ?” a little girl inquired.

“Poverty,” came the unhesitating reply. “We must have food for our people.”

A boy asked how the Indians felt towards the British.

“Their rule in India was objected too strongly, but individual Englishmen we like,” Pandit Nehru said.

He told the children how elephants are used in India to do heavy work and sometimes for pleasure riding.

He signed autograph books and autograph pictures of himself.

### **Press Features of Nehru's Speech**

The *New York Times* published the full text of Pandit Nehru's speech at the Columbia University convocation. It also published two pictures, one on the front page and one inside, of Pandit Nehru's Civic Hall reception.

The University convocation ended after 10 P. M. and pictures of it have not yet appeared.

In its report of the Civic Hall reception, the *New York Times* said, “Pandit Nehru who is accustomed in his own country to fervid adulation, got one of the city's warmest greetings as he rode up Broadway.



Crowds cheered and applauded him with an enthusiasm seldom seen on such occasions."

The New York *Herald Tribune* and *Daily Mirror* also published large-size pictures of the Civic Hall reception. The *Herald Tribune* headed its report of Pandit Nehru's Columbia University speech "Nehru says India's foreign policy is based on Gandhi code, but denies isolationism", and brought into the lead paragraphs the Indian Prime Minister's words that India "cannot and shall not" be neutral "when man's liberty or peace is in danger".



## **ADDRESS TO THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB**

*(New York: October 19, 1949)*

### **Expert Technical Assistance Needed For Development**

Pandit Nehru warned western nations that they could not halt the rising tide of nationalism in Asia.

Addressing that Overseas Press Club, he served notice that India, probably, would recognize Communist China soon.

Declaring that Asia was in ferment—a rapidly changing continent—the Indian Prime Minister said colonial domination of the East was doomed. Colonialism such as French rule in Indo-China, might continue for a time if “imposed by military”, even then it would have only a short time to run.

Pandit Nehru warned that it was the “height of folly” for colonial Powers to try to maintain their hold on Asia.

While nationalism had cooled down in India and Burma since independence, it was astonishing how rapidly they were aroused when there was a threat of domination in any part of Asia. He said this was because Indians “cannot forget history” and are likely to be suspicious.

The Prime Minister’s speech had been billed as an off-the-record address but, at the last moment, he said: “You cannot speak off the record of 500 people.”

Pandit Nehru said nationalism was the most important factor in Asia to-day and unless the Western world realized it there was no hope of peace. “It is



perfectly clear that after many painful years, Asia is going to play a very important part in world affairs."

In reply to questions as to how the U.S.A. might co-operate more closely with India, he said India needed American food, fertilizer agricultural equipment, technical assistance and more American professors in her universities. Devaluation of India's currency made her dollar problem more acute and it would be difficult to secure the needed American goods and assistance without some help.

He added: "I should like to invite you and other Americans to visit India and have a look around." He then jestingly remarked that "incidentally, your coming would help the dollar shortage."

*Asked whether his Government intended to recognize Communist China Pandit Nehru said: "In common with other Governments, we cannot ignore realities." This remark drew applause from more than 500 newspaper and radio correspondents and their guests at the luncheon. Pandit Nehru said that the Indian Ambassador at Nanking had been recalled to New Delhi to confer on the question of recognizing Communist China.*

"The basic problem of China is agrarian and the solution of that problem will better the course of China. The same applies to India. We are putting an end to the big landlord system gradually." Thus one of the major upsetting features of Asia has been controlled in India because of the Government's policy of breaking



up huge landlord estates and farming areas and distributing these among the individual farmers.

Pointing out that "this is world of infinite variety," he said it was a good thing but people must realize necessity for allowing others their point of view.

In reply to a question, Pandit Nehru said that the U.S.A. could be most helpful to India by making available a large quantity of wheat of which "I understand you have a surplus." He would like to make arrangements to get wheat to be held as reserve stock for emergency use only. He explained that the "price of wheat is a governing factor" in the food price structure in India and, if the Government held a reserve which it could dump on the market if necessary, it would tend to hold prices down.

The Indian leader did not say exactly how he wanted to get this wheat—whether on loan, grant or by some other means but his audience received the impression he would like to arrange some long-term financing of credit.

Pandit Nehru said he would like to have some men of technical experience to take charge of over all planning of India's various hydro-electric schemes which he likened to the U.S. Tennessee Valley Authority. Pointing out that there were hundreds of Indian students presently in the U.S.A. receiving technical training, he said he did not know how the Indian Government could keep the present numbers in view of the recent devaluation."



*"I think there is room for American capital investment in India to mutual advantage," he said. He realized that capital was reluctant to enter any country without "certain assurances" of profit and right to convert profit into dollars. The Government of India was ready to give that guarantee although there might be "temporary" difficulties due to dollar shortage.*

Asked whether India feared "economic domination" by foreign capital, Pandit Nehru said that the Government did not, but it was "a matter which seriously excites the people of India" because of their experience under the British.

His country wanted to work on its domestic problems "before playing on the chessboard of world politics" but that it could not ignore certain responsibilities which had been "thrust upon it."

### **Asian Co-operation**

"India's pivotal position between Western Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East made it the crossroads of that part of the world. India is the central point of the Asian picture and countries of that area are co-operating more and more in various ways. In trade and defence there was bound to be a common bond amongst nations in that area.

"India's role of leadership may not be so welcome to others although it may satisfy our vanity. But it is something which we cannot escape. We cannot escape the various responsibilities that arise out of our geography and history. This is a very important thing. It governs all our actions. Throughout her long history,



India has never been isolated. Centuries ago, India had close contacts with Iran, the Arab countries and even the Greek and Roman world on the one side and with South-East Asia and China on the other.

“There were architectural and other evidences of India’s early influence in South-East Asia. In China, too, the principal religion had originated from India. With the advent of British Power, however, these contacts had snapped.

“There was a time when India’s contacts with the Far East were by way of England. It was more likely to meet people from the East in London, Berlin or Paris than anywhere else.

“The development of air routes across the continents and, in particular, the attainment of freedom by India had altered the situation. People in the South-East Asian and Far Eastern regions now looked to India more than they did in the last 150 years. It was inevitable that this should be so in view of the historical and geographical factors and we have every intention of encouraging these tendencies.”

Pandit Nehru then referred to the steps taken by India to promote co-operation between Asian countries. One thing common to them had been colonial subjection in one form or another.

India had freed herself by her own efforts but there were regions still subject to colonial rule. As the result of her freedom and her geographical position in relation to the affected countries, India felt that certain



responsibilities devolved upon her. They were sometimes a burden to India, but she did not regard the so-called leadership in any flamboyant spirit as she realised that she could not escape her duties.

Pandit Nehru then dealt with the conference on Indonesia called by India, and said that the discussions at the conference had had its repercussions on all Asian countries. The struggle for independence of the Asian people had made it quite clear to the colonial Powers that they could only rule those countries with force and without profit to themselves.

Pandit Nehru told the correspondents they should not permit their "specialization" in various areas and subjects to cause them to get a restricted outlook. "Specialization is bad if it destroys a wide common outlook" which he described as most necessary to understand Asia's role in world affairs. "Asia is in a growing dynamic stage and India is full of vitality" and these factors must be reckoned with. Sometimes this vitality went wrong but "it is better to have vitality and go wrong occasionally than to not to have any vitality at all."

"Our immediate problems cannot be understood unless you think of them from the large perspective of history. Movements take place in the mind of people before they happen. This is going on all over Asia today."

Here Pandit Nehru remarked that Mr. Churchill's statements to the effect that the Labour Government was guilty of error and stupidity on granting India



independence were "bound to be irritating" and had caused an upsurge of feeling in Asia against the West.

"What is happening in Asia is of tremendous significance and the Western world had better make no mistake about it."

The Prime Minister left the Club at 8 P.M. to keep an appointment with Lt.-Gen. Walter Bedele Smith, former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow and is now Commander of the American First Army on the Eastern Seaboard. Indian officials said that Gen. Smith was calling on Pandit Nehru because the Prime Minister's sister, Mrs. Pandit, was "a very good friend of his" when he was in Moscow as Ambassador.



## ADDRESS TO U.N. CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION

*(Lake Success : October 19, 1949)*

### **Co-existence of Communism and Capitalism will end**

Pandit Nehru declared on October 19, that the two ideologies—Capitalism and Communism—could not continue indefinitely side by side, and that sooner or later one or the other must triumph.

The Prime Minister of India was addressing a special reception meeting of the U.N. Correspondents Association at Lake Success.

He said : “This conflict between two different ideologies of East and West cannot continue for long. It may continue for one or two generations, but ultimately one or the other must triumph.

“Which form of society ultimately triumphs depends on the one which can deliver the goods. And that means not only material goods but also those spiritual factors which are designed for the betterment of human life.”

Pandit Nehru was asked whether the countries which had taken part in the Delhi conference had done anything more in the question of Indonesia or Indo-China.

He replied that the conference had done the task for which it had been called. The participants had exerted considerable moral pressure on the questions.



He added : "It is a fact that no European or other Power can to-day expect to exercise colonial rule over territories in Asia. If they seek to hold on to colonies this will only lead to conflict."

Pandit Nehru said that his visit to America included three main considerations :

(1) India required that immediate priority be given to food supply, particularly wheat ;

(2) Technical help was required for the major schemes of development being prepared by the Indian Government ; and

(3) "We want financial investments on terms to be agreed upon."

The Prime Minister said that the recent devaluation of currencies had been a "hard blow" to Indian economic relations with the U.S.A.

He said that until that happened, India had made plans to purchase goods in America and to send students to be trained in technical work. "Now," he declared, "we may be obliged to seek these advantages elsewhere. We will have to buy from America only those things which cannot be obtained elsewhere."

Asked about certain curtailments of civil liberties in India, the Prime Minister said that the end of British rule and partition had created enormous social problems for the Indian Government.



“It released certain reactionary forces which had to be removed. Economic troubles also caused upheavals. The main consideration that the Indian Government had was that it would not allow the unity of India to be broken up.

“We were near rebellion. That is why we had to take action against violence or against anyone who preached violence.”

The Prime Minister was asked whether he was hopeful of a settlement in Kashmir.

Pandit Nehru replied: “A settlement in Kashmir is bound to come at one time or another.”

“It will be to Nehru the man that the United States extends its warmest welcome.”—*New York Times*.



## ADDRESS AT THE WALDORF—ASTORIA BANQUET

*(New York : October 20, 1949)*

### **Increasing understanding necessary**

Pandit Nehru told a nationwide audience on the night of October 19, that his visit to the U.S.A. gave promise of closer Indo-American relations.

“The experience of the last eight days has convinced me that I was completely justified in coming here,” India’s Prime Minister said.

He was guest of honour at a banquet given by four leading American associations connected with international affairs. More than 2,000 guests including many Indians jammed the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to hear him.

Declaring that it was essential there should be ever increasing understanding between India and the U. S. A. Pandit Nehru said personal contact with the American people had given him an “emotional awareness” which transcended all his previous knowledge of America.

Pandit Nehru who received a tremendous ovation before and after his address, seemed affected by the welcome.

He said : “During these eight days so much has happened that is of significance in my life. Experience and emotion have piled up on top of one another in such a manner that I feel I have been here for a long time.”



Sometimes, he added, time seemed to stop, and at other times it seemed to race on—as had happened during the past few days.

“These eight days have not only left a powerful effect on me, but have left a deep impression on me which I will carry with me for a long time.”

### **Premier “Richer”**

Pandit Nehru declared he would return to India richer than he came, “richer in experience and richer in an emotional understanding of the people of this great country”.

Although, he said complete agreement on every point could not be expected between countries with different emotional and cultural backgrounds, he was convinced that the material progress which the American people have achieved could have been impossible “without a basic moral background”.

He had found, he said, that Americans were hard-headed businessmen, but “I have also found among them a great deal of generousness and friendliness”.

Pandit Nehru apologized for speaking extemporaneously, but said that he had been encouraged, by his experience in America to give them a “friendly talk” rather than a formal address. He spoke for 75 minutes and his speech was broadcast.

At the outset, he thanked those American organizations and people who had given their active support “in the struggle of our people”.



“We were encouraged at that time to hear their voices speaking on our behalf and assuring us of their goodwill and friendship,” he said.

### **Roosevelt's Interest**

He recalled that during the last term of his imprisonment, friends of India had addressed a manifesto to President Roosevelt appealing to him to take some action regarding India. “All of us in India know what a great interest President Roosevelt had in our country's freedom, and how he exerted his great influence towards that end.”

Stating that he had wanted to come in the U.S.A. since his student days in Cambridge, the Prime Minister said that developments of later years had prevented him from fulfilling that intention. “It was now more than ever necessary that the people of India and the U. S. A. should know each other better and should co-operate in world affairs.”

“As a subject country India could not have co-operated with a great country like the U. S. A. to the same degree that it could do now. India was a poor country, by present-day standards,” he said, “but it had great potential resources.”

Urging that the fear in international affairs should be removed, Pandit Nehru said : “If there is an armed conflict, we are weak, we have no atom bomb, and we rejoice in not having an atom bomb.”

### **“Magic Words”**

He said Mahatma Gandhi had given the Indian people a great and simple message of “don't be afraid”.



“These magic words,” he said, “had brought about a tremendous lifting of spirit among the Indian people and had created a complete evolution in the minds of even the poorest peasant in the country.” Before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene, the un-armed people were afraid even to look others in the face, “but Mahatma Gandhi had told them, ‘Do not have fear—what can happen to you ?’

“That magic message kept us going,” Pandit Nehru declared, “and we found there was really nothing to fear.”

**Pandit Nehru said India had no fear of external aggression. “After 30 years’ experience of Mahatma Gandhi’s leadership, we are not afraid of external aggression,” he added.**

Continued apprehension of danger was bad for nations. If a man went unarmed in a jungle, it was very unlikely that an animal would attack him. Even animals attacked men only if they were afraid that they would be attacked. “Of course, it is wrong to compare wild animals with men, but generally speaking the analogy holds good,” he said amid laughter.

“If one nation gets afraid, then others get afraid, and so this crescendo of fear rises and leads to deplorable consequences,” said Pandit Nehru.

“I have not come here to teach anything, but to complete my own education, and to learn something about the Americans through American eyes,” he said.



Referring again to Indo-American relations, he said : "It is natural for many Americans to think of the importance of India. Therefore, the question of India and the U.S.A. developing closer relations was a matter of great significance."

### **Close Relationship**

Just as America had come to occupy a close relationship with the countries around her, similarly India had been compelled to play a vital role in her relation with the countries of Southern Asia. Whatever happened in Western Asia or in South-Eastern Asia deeply affected India. India had no desire for leadership anywhere, he said.

**"So far as we are concerned, we wish to co-operate with other countries. We realize that we cannot exist in isolation. India cannot play a middle role. She has to play a distinctive role, or she fades out, but I think there is going to be no fading for India."**

The Indian people had been expecting great changes with independence, but with independence had also come partition and many problems of an overwhelming nature.

"We agreed to partition," he said, "but it proved to be far worse than we anticipated. It had disrupted the railways, the postal and irrigation systems and even the lives of between 12m. and 13m. people on both sides, especially in Northern India."

**"Energies which the Government could have directed towards plans of internal development had to be**



diverted to the solution of the problems created by partition."

He spoke of India's coming Constitution and the progressive lines on which it was being constructed. India was bound to make good even in those material ways which count for so much. "The whole course of history points to it," he continued.

"The time has come when we should look more towards the U.S.A. with some feeling of confidence."

Pandit Nehru paid a tribute to the women of India.

"There is no doubt in my mind," he said, "that the part the women of India played in our struggle for freedom was not only significant but of paramount importance."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, introducing Pandit Nehru to the audience, wished that a more public reception could have been given to him so that he could have had "a welcome from the hearts of the American people".

### **Spiritual Leadership**

She said that the old and new civilizations of India and the U.S.A. were necessary to each other. While the U.S.A. had developed certain material values, India could give some of that spiritual leadership which Pandit Nehru represented.

The world was passing through a changing and dangerous period, said Mrs. Roosevelt. "You have here a man who has no fear, who has the power to accept life serenely and who can be a practical leader of his



peoples. He knows that they must have practical things to make their lives more worth while. This is where the practical and the spiritual can meet together for the good of both," she added.

When Mrs. Roosevelt introduced Pandit Nehru to the guests, the whole gathering stood up and cheered him lustily for several minutes.

Mr. Brooks Enemy, President of the Foreign Policy Association, presided at the dinner, at which other guests included Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sir G.S. Bajpai, Mr. B.R. Sen, Mr. R.R. Saksena, Sir B.N. Rau, Sir Chintaman Deshmukh and Mr. Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador to India.

Indian and the U.S. flags flanked the table at which Pandit Nehru and the Indian leaders were seated.

Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, and Mr. Philip C. Jessup, American Ambassador at large, welcomed Pandit Nehru and his party on their arrival.



## TALKS WITH AMERICAN FRIENDS

*(October 21, 1949)*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on the night of October 20, met over 200 American friends of India who, in the past, have done good work in advancing India's cause. They included writers, publicists, newspapermen and speakers and they were present at a function specially arranged by Srimati Vijaya Lakshmi, India's Ambassador.

The Indian Prime Minister was in a most cheerful mood during the two hours he spent at this function.

He talked to practically everyone of the guests and later answered questions. An atmosphere of good feeling prevailed. Pandit Nehru who appeared to be at perfect ease made his replies without reserve and in a way that carried conviction. Everyone who heard him said Pandit Nehru had really opened his heart. It was made clear by the hostess, however, that the talk was off the record.

At 6 P.M. Clare Booth Luce called on Pandit Nehru in his 27th floor suite in the Waldorf Astoria towers for a personal chat, adds the U.P.A.

Pandit Nehru dined later with the publisher, David Walsh and his wife Pearl Buck, the novelist.



## TALKS WITH FINANCIERS

(October 22, 1949)

American financiers who have conferred with Pandit Nehru told the *United Press of America* that his visit undoubtedly would stimulate a greater flow of U.S. monetary and technical assistance to India. The consensus of top American financiers is that Pandit Nehru has "greatly cleared the atmosphere" regarding the welcome which American investment would receive in India and has laid at rest many apprehensions previously held by prospective investors.

Among those who have seen Pandit Nehru in this connection is the investment banker, Mr. William Draper, Jr., who was formerly Army Under-Secretary in charge of occupied areas. It is understood that when he saw Pandit Nehru on Thursday much of their conversation was devoted to discussion of Indian trade, relations with Japan because of Mr. Draper's previously intimate connection with this subject. However, it is understood that Mr. Draper assured Pandit Nehru there were large amounts of American capital available for investment in India provided it received a "hospitable welcome," without at the same time demanding any "concessions" beyond those extended to any other capital.

Other financial figures Pandit Nehru has seen in the past few days include Mr. Floyd Blair, Executive Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York, and Mr. J. M. Wolf, Vice-President of the U.S. Steel Company.



It is stated that in these talks, Pandit Nehru has avoided any specific aid but has approached the question "in broad generalities," but the Indian Ambassador at large, Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh—who formerly was the Governor of the Reserve Bank—and other Indian officials will go into more specific details on the subject. It is understood Pandit Nehru told Mr. Draper, Mr. Wolf and Mr. Blair that the Indian Government are willing to guarantee convertibility of American profits in India as soon as it works itself out of "temporary" difficulties created by the devaluation of the rupee. Pandit Nehru sets two years as the period of emergency in this respect. It is pointed out that, if Americans are interested in long-term prospects they should not mind this period.

Pandit Nehru has shown a keen interest in securing American technical assistance to supervise India's programme for hydro-electric and flood control projects. In this connection, he had a long talk with Col. Wanamaker, one of U.S. Army's top flood control engineering and transportation experts. It is understood Pandit Nehru sought his advice regarding the choice of an American engineer best suited to give technical advice on the overall Indian development programme.



## INDIA IS AMERICA'S HOPE

(October 23, 1949)

The *New York Post* said in a leading article on October 22, that India was "America's hope in Asia".

Declaring that Pandit Nehru was not infallible, the paper added : "His regime may end and falter, but it is essentially committed to the vision of a free society. That is the only commitment we may legitimately demand in the association his visit symbolizes."

The *Post* said India was an immediate test of President Truman's Point Four programme for the development of under-developed areas.

"India needs wheat and tractors ; it needs economic and technical aid," the paper said.

**"But it will not barter its bitter-won independence for such assistance. Neither Nehru nor the Government he represents can be bought.**

**"They must be treated as equals. Despite the poverty of their land, the leaders in India have far more dignity and self-confidence than the bartered, incompetent royalists of Greece.**

"Whatever else India's chieftains may need, they possess the crucial resource of leadership—the affection and loyalty of millions of their people.

### **Nehru's Assurances**

The *New York Times*, declaring that the only thing that would assure private investments abroad was adequate guarantees against confiscation and assurance of a reasonable return, said in an editorial that it was



gratifying that Pandit Nehru was willing to provide such guarantees.

The paper said these conditions were sadly lacking, especially in areas most in need of development, and described Pandit Nehru as "the outstanding leader of one such area needing the stimulus of new investment."

It added that the resumption of private investments abroad offered the only hope for bridging the gulf that was bound to open up when the Marshall Plan came to an end.

### **Mrs. Roosevelt's Praise**

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in her column "My Day" discussed the dinner in honour of Pandit Nehru on Wednesday at the Waldorf Astoria.

She said : "Two things in the Prime Minister's speech impressed me very deeply. The first was the explanation he gave of Mr. Mohandas K. Gandhi's strength which came through the teaching that there is no need to fear. The trouble with the world to-day is largely made up of world's fears.

"The second thing was the tribute Pandit Nehru paid to the women of India and the help they had given in the struggle for freedom. He said he felt that the development of India could be measured by the development of women of India. This means, I imagine, that women learned to accept change and not to resist it."



## NEHRU IN BOSTON

*(October 24, 1949)*

“With open arms and warm hearts” the city of Boston extended its welcome to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as the representative of a country whose goals have been the same as those of this city.

Arriving at East Boston Airport, Nehru was greeted by George J. Curley, son of Boston’s Mayor James Curley, who presented him with the key to the city and a letter of welcome from the mayor. The letter said Boston has particular reason to greet the Prime Minister with open arms and warm hearts because India’s goal in seeking freedom and that of Boston “were always the same.” “The parallel is striking,” the mayor’s greeting read. “The Constitution of the United States, after we had adopted it on gaining freedom, set forth certain fundamentals and facts—and now we find those principles embodied in the summary of the main objectives of the new India....God bless you and the 337 million people you lead,” the letter continued.

William Phillips, formerly special representative of President Roosevelt in India, was at the airport to welcome Nehru, as were Dr. Margaret Clapp, president of Wellesley College (where Nehru’s two nieces studied), a delegation of Indian students, and the head of the Vedanta Centre of Boston, a forty-year-old Hindu religious mission.

The official party, including Nehru, Ambassador Mrs. Pandit, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and others, drove immediately to Wellesley College and then visited



Harvard University where the group lunched with Harvard President and Mrs. James B. Conant.

As the college carillon pealed out the Indian national anthem, Wellesley students flocked from all directions to the lawn in front of the chapel when the Prime Minister arrived after the reception at the president's house. "I do quite feel as if I have come here for the first time," Nehru said, for he had "heard so much from my nieces" about the college.

"When my nieces hear that I have been here, they will be vastly excited," the Prime Minister told the group. They still speak of the college frequently, though they are "married and all that", he said as the students laughed, adding, "they still have a certain feeling of nostalgia."

"I shall remember this visit for a long time," Nehru concluded. As the applause died down, sophomore, junior and senior classes gave him their class cheers, shouting "Nehru" at the end of each. As he left, the Prime Minister bid the group good-bye, then, followed by a huge cohort of students, inspected the campus.

At his hotel several hundred people were waiting and saw him enter the main door beneath the large Indian flag. In a few minutes the party left the hotel to drive across the Charles River to Cambridge, the home of Harvard University President Conant. A huge delegation of Harvard students was at the gate of the president's house to meet the visitors.

After luncheon with the Conants the Prime Minister toured the campus and visited the Lamont and Houghton



libraries, which have several thousand books on Indian literature and history. Keyes D. Metcalf, director of the Harvard University Library, estimates that in the university as a whole there are 25,000 to 30,000 books on India.

In the afternoon Nehru visited the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and attended a reception by the Hindustan Students Association. He also had tea with M.I.T. President Killian.

In the evening the Prime Minister attended a private dinner in his honour by William Phillips at the Somerset Club.



## NEHRU URGES INDO-U. S. COMMERCIAL CO-OPERATION

*(October 24, 1949)*

At a dinner in his honour given by the National Foreign Trade Council and the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Thursday, Prime Minister Pandit Nehru spoke forcefully of the necessity of co-operation between India and the United States in terms of trade and commerce. Such co-operation will be of profit to both countries, he declared. "It is essential for us to do it in the long run."

The Prime Minister maintained that if a large part of the world is under-developed, it will pull down the rest of the world. The more a country's standard grows, the more it produces and buys and the higher trade capacity it has. So it is essential that rich countries see that others are in a position to absorb their capital goods, Nehru said.

Nehru told again of his country's needs from the United States—wheat, to increase its supply and build up a reserve, thereby lowering the price level ; machinery and technical aid. Private capital will be welcomed in India and there will be no differential treatment of capital from other countries, he said. India recognizes the necessity of assuring profits and safety and, subject to matters beyond her control, "we give these assurances." We think foreign capital necessary, said Nehru, and will give it freedom to function.

Stating his conviction that it is "not only mutually advantageous but for the good of the larger interests of



this world that there should be this co-operation" between India and the United States, Nehru said that was the reason he came here. His mission, he explained, is not a one-sided one—he has not come to ask for something just for India, but for both countries and for the world.

### **Explains Sterling Balances**

Turning to the sterling balances that India has accumulated, Nehru asked his audience to "think of the price India paid for them in blood and suffering." For these sterling balances represent, he said, the lack of necessities of life which India had to tolerate, culminating in "that great tragedy", the Bengal famine.

With independence came many new problems which have drained the country financially—the refugee problem, food deficit and other difficulties. "All we could do was clench our teeth and go ahead and face all these things." But, as India sought to solve her pressing immediate problems, her mind centered on the future, the Prime Minister said. The land problem was tackled, industrial peace called for, and a programme for a growing industry planned.

India attached great importance to the United States, Nehru said, and in recognition of this "we have chosen our best people to send to the United States.

Although India has won her independence, the job is not done, Nehru told the audience. "You can never put a limit to the march of a people or the march of a nation." Of India's desires, he said: "We are eager to reap the fruits of freedom for our country," and having



independence, "we are determined to work for them with all our might and energy."

Eugene P. Thomas, president of the National Foreign Trade Council, welcomed Nehru to the meeting and Arthur B. Foye, president of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, introduced the Prime Minister.

### **Nehru Attends Dewey Dinner**

The Prime Minister also paid a surprise visit to a banquet in honour of philosopher John Dewey's ninetieth birthday Thursday, and hailed him as an American who has influenced his own thinking greatly.

At the conclusion of the dinner in his honour at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, the Prime Minister and his party drove to the Commodore Hotel, where some 1,500 guests had been waiting 10 minutes for him after their meeting had ended. Nehru received annovation as he entered and the guests crowded up to the speaker's table to watch him as he spoke.

Offering his "heartfelt homage on this occasion," Nehru said of Dewey : "I hope he will be with us for many years to come." It was a great privilege, the Prime Minister said, "to be associated even a few minutes with this function and occasion."

There are few Americans with whose work he has been better acquainted in the past, Nehru said, and who have influenced his own thinking more.



Dewey and Nehru met just a few days ago, a meeting that Nehru had long desired, he explained, because he had always wanted to "learn something from him in his ripe wisdom". It is at times when one's mind is not clear that Dewey's wisdom most helps a person, Nehru said.—USIS.



## A RICH EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE.

( *October 24, 1949* )

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that his eight days in the United States have given him an emotional awareness of the American people and that he will leave the country far richer than when he first arrived, as a result of his American experience.

Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, presenting the India leader to more than 2,000 guests assembled at a banquet in his honour, called on the audience to "listen, learn, give open hearts and minds to his message and go out and carry it far and wide throughout the nation." Mrs. Roosevelt called the group in the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel "very fortunate people" for "you have met a man who has no fear, who has the power to accept life and face it serenely, who knows the value of the spirit."

Speaking before Mrs. Roosevelt, American Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup told Nehru his American welcome "genuinely flows from our hearts" and he added he was a humble American citizen speaking to a great citizen of India.

The gathering included many distinguished Americans and was sponsored jointly by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, the India League of America, the East and West Association and the Foreign Policy Association.

This visit, which came "after a long time of waiting", is the fulfilment of a long-felt desire, Nehru



said, for "I have always wanted to come here since I was a student at Cambridge."

"I shall go back from here much richer than I came," richer in experience, memories and "intellectual and emotional understanding and appreciation of the great people of this country."

"So much has happened of significance in my life," Nehru said of the last eight days. "Experience and emotion have piled up one on top of the other."

### **Nehru Talks Extempore for An Hour**

Talking for an hour, Nehru had no prepared address but gave what he described as a "friendly talk", the way he speaks to his own people in India. His real subconscious reason for having no written address, he said, was his "growing feeling of confidence with friends here in this country."

Brooks Emeny, president of the Foreign Policy Association who acted as master of ceremonies, told the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the speech that it was "an event which all of us will remember during the rest of our years, but the most we appreciate is that you are willing to talk to us as you do to your own people."

The Prime Minister, telling how his emotional awareness of the American people meant more to him than all his reading out the United States, also expressed his gratitude for "all Americans who have in the course of the past many years sent us good will and given us their active support in our struggle for freedom." As the applause of the audience died down, he added it was



a very heartening thing for Indians "to hear the voices of good will and friendship and sympathy from America."

"All of us in India know," he declared, "what great interest President Roosevelt had in our country's freedom and how he exercised his great influence to that end."

### **Several Hundred People Hear Nehru**

As the Prime Minister spoke he looked over 233 tables on the floor of the grand ballroom and on the first balcony, and an audience of several hundred in the second balcony surrounding the ballroom. Each table was decorated with small Indian and American flags, and each guest had a programme bearing on the front cover an autographed photograph of Nehru. At the two tries of speakers' tables on the stage, sat 40 distinguished guests including Dr. Ralph Bunche, Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Pearl S. Buck, Walter P. Reuther, John D. Rockefeller III, David Dubinsky, the American Ambassadors to India and China, and William Phillips.

Explaining that his desire to visit the United States originally stemmed from curiosity, Nehru said in later years more and more the thought came to him that it was "necessary, desirable and perhaps inevitable that India and the United States should know each other more and co-operate more." To him, he said, "it seems natural to think of closer relations with the American people and this great country." "I have been told," he added, "that it is natural for many Americans to think of the importance of India,"



“I have come here to improve my own education and to learn something about America and about the world through American eyes. This is important to me.”

### **Nehru Explains Gandhiji's Message**

India's Prime Minister told the audience of the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi saying there was “some magic about the message he gave.” Actually, it was a simple message, Nehru explained : “Don't be afraid.”

This idea spread, and lifted a tremendous burden. Through India's struggle for independence, “this lesson of his kept us going.” Applying this Gandhian principle to “the fear complex that governs the world to-day, Nehru declared this approach of fear is the worst of all approaches. It is bad for oneself and bad for the other party.” Shedding fear and acting with confidence, he maintained, bring confidence to the other party who is afraid.

Turning to his own country, Nehru outlined India's aims : “Our purpose and desire is to be left in peace to work out our own problems, not in isolation, certainly in co-operation with others.”

The Prime Minister traced the background of events and problems through which India has lived since independence. He reiterated the point he has made several times since his arrival in the United States, that India is a pivotal nation, that India has become, whether she likes it or not, important in the scheme of things, by virtue of her historic and geographic associations.



“We have no desire for leadership anywhere,” he asserted. “The greatest desire and urge to-day is to build up India and to serve other good causes in Asia and the rest of the world.” But, “whether we like it or not we have to play an important role.” This role cannot be a middle role—“there is no halfway house,” Nehru said, adding his conviction that there “is going to be no fading out of India.”

As the Prime Minister rose to speak and as he concluded, the entire audience, applauding, rose in tribute.

### **Singh Praises America's World-Mindedness**

Sardar J.J. Singh, President of the India League of America, also spoke earlier in the evening, saying he felt the four sponsoring organizations were proof, not only of America's world-mindedness, but that “the East and West have done a good deal of meeting together.”

The India League official said Americans did not need the actual presence of Gandhi to grasp his message, “Rarely has the death of a man in a distant land affected Americans as did the passing of Gandhi. In that moment of anguish, it was revealed that Americans, after all, understood the essential meaning of his life.”

This understanding was symbolized three weeks ago, Singh said, in the enactment of a law by the American Congress for the erection of [a memorial to Gandhi in the national capital.

Nehru “has been a rainbow reaching both worlds,” Singh said. He asked the Prime Minister and assembled



guests "to look upon this great occasion as the beginning of a warm and fruitful collaboration between two nations of the world that symbolize man's hope for self-fulfilment."

After the dinner meeting, Nehru and his sister drove to the Empire State Building and went up to its 102nd floor to see miles upon miles of city lights, the two rivers, and the vast harbour expanse visible from this man-made height.



## NEHRU'S NEW YORK VISIT HAD LIGHTER MOMENTS

Prime Minister Nehru's New York visit has had its lighter moments, as shown by the following two incidents :

At a press interview after his Overseas Press Club speech, Nehru submitted to questions from newsmen. International News Service correspondent Tom Clark started to ask a question and developed it into a lengthy speech. Not sure of the point, club president Frank Kelley, acting as chairman, asked : "But what's the question ?"

"I'm sure Pandit Nehru knows the question," said Clark.

Kelley then turned to Nehru and said : "He's sure you know the question, Pandit Nehru, so will you please answer it."

"In view of the question," Nehru replied, "I'm sure the gentleman knows my answer."

The other incident revolved around Nehru's United Nations visit, where he admitted to Secretary-General Trygve Lie of Norway that he didn't know that the organization had been making broadcasts to India for over a year.

"Don't be embarrassed," said Lie. "Not until I got to Oslo did I learn that the United Nations was broadcasting to Norway."



## **Importance of United Nations Stressed by Nehru**

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has termed the work of the United Nations' Trusteeship Committee as "nearest to my heart and of supreme importance to the world to-day."

In an impromptu talk to the General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee during a tour of various U.N. committee rooms, Pandit Nehru declared India attaches great importance to the work of the United Nations and its committees. Nothing that some people criticize the U.N. as having had no immediate results, the Prime Minister said he felt this criticism was fundamentally wrong. Many difficult problems face the world to-day, and the United Nations is not a "magic wand", he said.

The mere fact that the United Nations is seeking solutions to world problems shows it is working in the right direction, Nehru declared, and the world must encourage and support it.

The Indian Prime Minister said he considers the United Nations a bridge between the past and present problems and a happy future.

Responsibility rests with the members of the United Nations to see that the bridge is firm and that it does lead to that future. If there were no such bridge, he cautioned, it would be difficult to envision the fate of the world.

Pandit Nehru said he and his country look forward to the work of the United Nations with hope and will share in its burdens as well as its accomplishments.



## TALK AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE

*(Ottawa : October 24, 1949)*

### Nehru's Plain-Speaking

It was beginning to appear that mediation would be the only hope of solution for the Kashmir problem, said Pandit Nehru at a Press conference.

He said India could not accept Pakistan's treatment of Kashmir as a religious rather than a political issue. If that were accepted, he said, it would upset the delicate balance all over India and Pakistan.

Pandit Nehru accused Pakistan of "making a continual appeal to the grossest type of religious bigotry," to Kashmir's Muslims and maintained that "Pakistan's armies have no business there."

Indian troops were in Kashmir "legally, constitutionally and by invitation of the people" to protect them. India had accepted the principle of allowing the people of Kashmir to decide for themselves which country they wish to join—but under the certain conditions.

These included the withdrawal of Pakistan troops.

Pakistan was withdrawing regular troops but was substituting irregulars under her direct command, he stressed. No plebiscite was possible until this situation was cleared up.

Mediation was the only solution. India had asked Pakistan to agree that under no conditions would the





India's Prime Minister listens in on U. N. Lake Success, New York.



Addressing a mammoth audience at the University of California's Greek Theatre in San Francisco, California.



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issue be settled by resort to arms. The only answer was steady incitements to holy war in the Pakistan Press. "We are not going to tolerate this," Pandit Nehru said.

"It will upset all India—we do not know where it would lead to."

Pandit Nehru said that it was not the policy of India to align herself with any bloc of nations.

He said : "It is our aim to keep friendly contacts with everybody. Naturally, we are bound to be closer to some nations than to others, for example we consult with the other nations of the Commonwealth, but our foreign policy is completely independent."

He made these statements when commenting on allegations in the Soviet Press that he had committed India more firmly to the American bloc.

Pandit Nehru, answering another question, said that if Stalin invited him to visit Moscow he probably would go.

He said he hoped for three main things from his visit to the U. S. and Canada.

"First," he said, "we would like one million tons of wheat to hold as a reserve to enable us to control the wheat crisis in India. Second, we want technical assistance. Third, we want financial terms, that is we can afford for our purchases in dollar countries, and we want to encourage private capital to be invested in India,



Pandit Nehru said he was not interested in promoting the emigration of Indians from India.

He said : "India is actually underpopulated, compared with some parts of Europe. We do not want our people to leave. What we want to do is increase the food supply for them at home."

Indian Communists had little more than mischief status but the Communist success in China had boosted their morale, he said.

The question of recognition of a Chinese Communist Government had to be considered in the historical context of an agrarian revolution—a connection which would not be ignored, Pandit Nehru said.

### **Britain's Debts**

Pandit Nehru said about half of the great sterling debt Britain built up in India during the war has been liquidated. To suggestions that India might ease the burden on Britain in some way, he replied : "Am I going to be generous at the expense of my own impoverished people."

Those debts had been piled up by "tremendous wartime deprivation" of food and other normal needs of the Indian people. One direct result was the loss of 3,000,000 lives in the Bengal famine. Another was inflation.

Those who have been with Pandit Nehru during his tour described it as the frankest and most compre-



hensive talk the Indian Prime Minister had given to newspaper correspondents since he arrived in North America.

Seeing the main hall of the tricolour-decked residence jammed with reporters, Pandit Nehru blithely jumped on to a low window sill and made more room for Pressmen to gather round him and asked some of them to squat on the floor.

A reporter asked the Prime Minister how long he spent, all told, in gaol during the fight for Indian independence.

"It is not very easy to be concise," he smiled to the Press conference. "It is confused."

But he had seen a thesis by an American student who had decided the time amounted to eight and a quarter years.

"Do you accept that figure," someone asked. Pandit Nehru smiled affirmatively.

"We look to you for leadership in India — for courage and for strength." — *Frances Bolton*.



# ADDRESS TO THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

*(Ottawa: October 25, 1949)*

## **“Little Reality In East West Difference”**

[Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister, told a joint session of the Houses of the Canadian Parliament on Monday that the cause of the present ferment in the South-East Asia was the effect of thwarted nationalism and that the only remedy was to grant early independence to subject nations and to remove want. He added that economic want had always been an under-current in popular upheavals.]

Pandit Nehru said, “We talk of the East and the West, of the Orient and the Occident, and yet these divisions have little reality. The world has become too small for such divisions.” He also mentioned that what the West talked of East was but to the West of them.]

The following is the text of his address to the Canadian Parliament :

“I am grateful to you, Sir, and honourable members of this Parliament for the honour you have done me in inviting me to address you and for the warm welcome which you have been good enough to extend me.

“I am happy to be in the capital of this great dominion and to bring to you the greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of India.

“During the past 12 months, it has been my privilege to be associated in important discussions with



your Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, and your Secretary of State, Mr. Pearson.

“We have had to consider many difficult problems together and I am revealing no secret when I say that our point of view and Canada’s were identical, or very near to each other, on almost everyone of them. In particular, I should like to refer to the spirit of understanding shown by your Government, and your representative at the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers, held in London last April in the determination of our future relationship with the Commonwealth.

### **Great Traditions**

“That spirit is in the great tradition of your leaders. Sir John MacDonald, Sir Wilfried Laurier, and your last Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, who is still happily with us. That tradition has been one of association with the Commonwealth in complete freedom, unfettered by any outside control.

“Canada has been a pioneer in the evolution of this relationship and, as such, one of the builders of the Commonwealth as an association of free and equal nations. India, as you know, will soon become a Republic, but will remain a member of the Commonwealth. Our past co-operation will not, therefore, ease or alter with the change in our status. On the contrary, it will have the greater strength that common endeavour derives from a sense that it is inspired and sustained by the free will of the people.



“I am convinced, this development in the history of the Commonwealth – without parallel elsewhere or at any other time is a significant step towards peace and co-operation in the world.

“Of even greater significance, is the manner of its achievement. Only a few years ago Indian nationalism was in conflict with British imperialism, and that conflict brought in its trail ill-will, suspicion, bitterness, although, because of the teaching of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, there was far less ill-will than in any other nationalist struggle against foreign domination.

“Who would have thought then that suspicion and bitterness would largely fade away so rapidly, giving place to friendly co-operation between free and equal nations ? That is the achievement for which all those who were concerned with this can take legitimate credit.

“It is an outstanding example of a peaceful solution of difficult problems, and a solution which is a real one because it does not lead to other problems. The rest of the world might well pay heed to this example.

“Canada is a vast country and her extent is continental. She faces Europe across the Atlantic and Asia across the Pacific. Past history explains your pre-occupations thus far with European affairs. Past history also, as well as geography, explains the depth and intimacy of our interest in Asia but in the world of to-day neither you nor we can afford to be purely national or even continental in our outlook. The world



has become too small for that. If we do not all co-operate and live at peace with each other, we stumble on one another and clutch at each other's throats.

## East & West

"We talk of the East and the West, of the Orient and the Occident, yet these divisions have little reality. In fact, the so called East is geographically West of you. During the last two or three hundred years some European nations developed industrial civilisation and thus became different in many ways from the East which still is primarily agricultural. The new strength that technical advance gave them added to their wealth and power, and the era of colonialism and imperialism began during which the greater part of Asia was dominated over by some countries of Europe.

"In the long perspective of history this was a brief period. Already we are seeing the end of it. The imperialism which was at its height during the last century and a half has largely faded away only to linger in a few countries to-day. There can be little doubt it will end in these remaining countries also, and the sooner it ends the better for the peace and security of the world.

"Asia, the mother of all continents and the cradle of history's major civilisations, is renascent to-day. The dawn of its newly acquired freedom is turbulent because during these past two centuries its growth was arrested, frustration wide spread, new forces grew up. These forces were essentially nationalist, seeking political



freedom ; but behind them was the vital economic urge for bettering the economic condition of the masses of the people.

“Where nationalism was thwarted there was conflict, as there is conflict to-day where it is being thwarted, for example in South-East Asia.

“To regard the present unsettled state of South-East Asia as a result or as part of an ideological conflict would be a dangerous error. The troubles and discontents of this part of the world, and indeed of the greater part of Asia, are a result of obstructed freedom and dire poverty.

“The remedy is to accelerate the advent of freedom and remove want. If this is achieved, Asia will become a powerful factor in the stability of peace. The philosophy of Asia has been and is the philosophy of peace.

“There is another facet of this Asian situation to which reference must be made. The so called revolt in Asia is the striving of legitimate pride of ancient peoples against the arrogance of certain Western nations. Racial discrimination is in evidence in some countries. There still is not enough realisation of the importance of Asia in the councils of the world.

“India’s championship of freedom and racial equality for Asia, as well as in Africa, is the natural urge of facts of geography and history.



“India desires no leadership of dominion or authority over any other country ; but we are compelled by circumstances to play our part in Asia and in the world because we are convinced that unless these basic problems of Asia are solved there can be no world peace.

### **Tribute To Canada**

“Canada with her democracy, her sense of justice and her love of fair play, should understand our purpose and our motives and should use her growing wealth and power to extend the horizons of freedom, to promote order and liberty, and remove want, then ensuring lasting peace.

“India is an old nation, yet to-day she has something of the spirit and dynamic quality of youth in her. Some of the vital impulses which gave strength to India in past ages inspire us still, and at the same time we have learnt much from the West in social and political values in science and technology. We have still much to learn, much to do especially in the application of science to problems of social well-being.

“We have gained political freedom and the urgent task before us to-day is to improve rapidly the economic conditions of our people, and fight relentlessly against poverty and social ills.” We are determined to apply ourselves to these problems and achieve success. We have will and natural resources and human material to do so. Our immediate task is to harness them for human betterment. For this purpose, it is essential for us to have a period of peaceful development and co-operation with other nations,



## Peace Indivisible

“The peace of the country cannot be assured unless there is peace elsewhere also. In this narrow contracting world, war, peace and freedom are becoming indivisible. Therefore, it is not enough for any one country to secure peace within its own borders, but necessary also that it should endeavour to the utmost capacity to help in the maintenance of peace all over the world.

“The world is full of tension and conflict to-day. Behind this tension lies ever growing fear, which is the parent of so many ills. There also are economic causes which can only be remedied by economic means. There can be no security or real peace of vast numbers of people in various parts of the world live in poverty and misery.

“Nor indeed can there be balanced economy for the world as a whole if undeveloped parts continue to upset that balance and drag down even more prosperous nations. Both for economic and political reasons, therefore, it has become essential to develop these undeveloped regions and raise the standard of people there.

“Technical advance and industrialisation of these regions will not mean any injury to those countries which already are highly industrialised. International trade grows as more countries produce more goods to supply the wants of mankind. Our industrialisation has predominantly a social aim to meet the pressing wants of the great majority of our own people,



“This age we live in has been called the atomic age. Vast new sources of energy are being tapped. But instead of thinking of them in terms of service and betterment of mankind men’s thoughts turn to destructive purposes.

“Destruction by these new terrible weapons of war can only lead to unparalleled disaster for all concerned, yet people lightly talk of war and bend their energies to prepare for it.

“A very distinguished American said the other day that use of the atom bomb might well be likened to setting a house on fire in order to rid it of some termites.

“Dangers undoubtedly threaten us. We must be on guard against them and take all necessary precautions. But we must always remember, the way to serve or protect mankind is not to destroy the house in which it lives and all it contains.

### **Problem of World Peace**

“The problem of maintaining world peace and diverting our minds and energies to that end thus becomes one of paramount importance.

“All of us talk of peace and the desirability of it, but do we all serve it faithfully and earnestly? Even in our struggle for freedom our great leader taught us the path of peace.

“In the larger context of the world we must inevitably follow that path to the best of our ability.



I am convinced that Canada, like India, is earnestly desirous of maintaining peace and freedom. Both our respective countries believe in democracy and democratic method and individual national freedom.

“In international affairs, therefore, our objectives are similar. We have found no difficulty thus far in co-operating for the achievement of these aims.

“I am here to assure the Government and people of Canada of our earnest desire to work for these ends in co-operation with them.

“Differences that have existed in our minds about the East and the West have little substance to-day.

“We all are partners in the same great undertaking.

“I have little doubt, that in spite of the dangers that beset this world to-day, the forces of constructive co-operative effort for human betterment will succeed and the spirit of man will triumph again.

“I thank you again, Sir, and honourable members of this Parliament, who shoulder a great responsibility, for your friendly cordial welcome and your good wishes for my country.

“I realize that the welcome was extended to me not as an individual but as a representative and symbol of my nation.



"I am sure my people will appreciate the welcome and the honour you have done them and will look forward to fruitful harmony of endeavour between our two countries for the accomplishment of common tasks."

Mr. St. Laurent, introducing Pandit Nehru said: "Our country is indeed honoured to have as its guest the Prime Minister of India upon this occasion.

"As the Prime Minister of the sister member nation the Commonwealth, I find it a most welcome and agreeable duty to extend to Pandit Nehru a warm welcome to Parliament and to Canada.

"You come to us both as one whose deeds and thoughts have commanded widespread attention in these troubled times, and as the most distinguished leader of that great portion of mankind which constitutes the population of India.

"Just six months ago I was happy to announce in this House the understanding reached in London with regard to continuance of India as a full member of the Commonwealth in the event that India should become a Republic.

"It was not only the people of the Commonwealth who had waited to learn the outcome of the discussion. Others were watching too, for much hung in the balance for three new Asian members that, as separate units, had joined the family of Commonwealth nations in 1947. Each was heir to an ancient civilisation. Each was inspired by strong national consciousness and by a great



vision of the future as a member in its own rights of the international community.

“Each moreover, was keenly aware of problem at home and of difficulties in the world at large. Each felt that it had a contribution to make in its own way, suited to the genius as well as to the needs of its people.

“We in Canada feel that we have been able to achieve some understanding of these things, distant though we are from the great Indian sub-continent.

### **Status of India**

“When India, largest and most populous of these new States, reached the stage where its desires with regard to its constitution prompted it to settle its future status in relation to other Commonwealth countries, most people in Canada realised, I think, that the constitution of India was a matter of the Indian people to decide for themselves.

“At the same time, we felt that any reasonable arrangement providing for full membership of India in the Commonwealth as a Republic, if that form of constitution should be India's wish, would be welcome.

“We Canadians were glad to learn that our association with India as a sister nation in the Commonwealth was to continue, and we hoped, that it was to become more direct and more mutually advantageous. We are happy that friendship, goodwill and understanding exist between India and Canada.



“We are conscious that we share with the Government and people of India an unswerving desire for peaceful world in which nations, both great and small, may pursue the well being of their people.

“On behalf of members present and the people of Canada, I venture to voice the hope that Pandit Nehru will carry back to India a message of greetings and warmest good wishes from us all.

“We know of the signal courage, devotion and loyalty with which Pandit Nehru has served and continues to serve the people of India, and of the statesmanship and nobility of thought he has brought to bear on great questions of human affairs in councils not only of India but of the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

“We pray he may long be spared to continue with his task and see his hopes bearing fruit.”



## A RADIO MESSAGE TO THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

*(New York : October 26, 1949)*

### **“One World or Disaster”**

“There is no doubt a world government must come at some time or the other for the only alternative to it is world suicide,” said Pandit Nehru in a radio message from Chicago to the New York ‘Herald-Tribune’ forum.

“It is difficult to say of what shape and form this order will be ; we must proceed firmly, yet cautiously,” he declared.

Pandit Nehru said : “The forum is discussing the subject of peculiar appropriations in the world to-day and even more so in the world of to-morrow. The interdependence of world problems expresses the truth which is evident to all thinking men and which we ignore at our peril. It has become increasingly difficult even to understand the problem unless we look at it in its world concept.

“The interdependence of world problems means the interdependence of various parts of the world on each other. No country can separate itself from others and no country can solve the problems of war and peace by itself.

“The solution can only come by ever greater co-operation on a world scale so that we can advance



towards the realization of a world order and a world government.

“Instead of marching however slowly to this realization of a world order we are faced by rivalry and tension all over the world. Which of these two powerful tendencies will triumph in the end will decide the fate of the world for generations to come. I have no doubt that ultimately a world order will be realized though it may take a little time to do so because men’s minds are not sufficiently attuned to it yet.

### **Economic Inter-dependence**

“In the economic sphere this interdependence is patent to-day and in spite of all the tension in the world there is a strong tendency for mutual co-operation. We welcome, therefore, Mr. Truman’s Point Four which will encourage the development of under-developed countries and thus relieve some of the economic tensions of to-day.

“It is difficult to say of what shape and form this world order will be. We must proceed firmly yet cautiously. The greatest barrier is the psychological barrier and we must try to remove that. That means first of all putting an end to the psychology of fear and to encourage the growth of good-will among all peoples.

“India will help in this process to the best of her ability. Our rationalism always has been based on this conception of a world order and international co-operation,



“I earnestly trust the progressive forces of the world will co-operate together in this great task that confront us.”

Truman spoke of Nehru as a “very agreeable gentleman” and said his stay at the Blair House was “a very pleasant occasion.”



## NEHRU IN CHICAGO

*(October 27, 1949)*

Lake Michigan on which Chicago stands is the second biggest in North America and bigger than the so-called seas like the Adriatic, I imagine. Pandit Nehru saw it as soon as he could find time. He never missed beauties of nature. He found the city quite pleasant and interesting, he confessed. The people here are impressed by his lack of ostentation, though the security police are making too much noise. Lots of people call up this official and that to be permitted to see him but the police cordon is strict. I never thought, recalling the good old carefree Congress days, he would ever be a helpless prisoner in a gilded cage. But reasons of State are there. Even in his hotel he had no rest. The lunch at the Chicago Club was a hurried affair. He cancelled a talk on man and revolution.

The arrangements for Pandit Nehru's stay in Drake's Hotel—the same as the journalists'—are similar to the arrangements made for King Peter of Yugoslavia, Winston Churchill and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. He has declined to have any special foods, though the hotel's chief executive was ready to do the job himself. Most of the time he is lunching out or dining out.

Goggled, we walked through a tractor-making factory with a pompous and poetic name. There was protection for eyes, no doubt. Somebody should invent protection for ears beyond a cotton plug. The noise was terrific. We were told a tractor a day would not



be difficult for sheer industrial processing. Pandit Nehru fired questions at the managers with the irresponsible curiosity of a child and got excellent answers. Toy tractors will be presented by the company to Pandit Nehru's grandchildren. Visitors and guests were given cigarette-lighters as a memento of the occasion—and the journalists got, besides, a special and a notebook each.

### At the Dinner

At the evening dinner a very distinguished gathering was present—most of them top-rankers in commerce and politics. Governor Stevenson, who presided, is a fine figure of a man, full of vim and vigour. He is born to command. His admiration of Pandit Nehru is genuine and he bracketed him with the great philosopher-kings of history. An interesting person I met was Emnar blane, very wealthy (100 million dollars), fond of financing newspapers for good causes and friendly to India. She owns the *Compass*, a daily of New York. She would not care to move out of her house for dinners but Pandit Nehru was too big to be ignored. Seven dollar a head was nothing for the one thousand and odd guests—Pandit Nehru was worth it. Two things people appreciated enormously. Pandit Nehru's [speech and the fine ice-cream.

We are trying to explore Chicago. It is the biggest wheat market, in the world, the biggest meat market, the greatest distributive trade (Sears and Montgomery will send you any thing cheap if you mail



an order). No railway can pass east and west, south and north, in the United States without touching at Chicago. It is a fairyland at night when at the Michigan Boulevard some of the Stately buildings are lighted to wonderful effect. If only you see it you will not be unhappy that you have contributed a lot to the buildings of Wriggley's buildings (chewing-gum fame).

### **Negroes Happy**

Negroes are happy at Pandit Nehru's visit. The heftiest hand-shake he received and gave was at the airport when a Negro minister and organizer almost pulled his hand out of its socket. They have their papers here, though not diaries which it is difficult to run. Their problem is becoming explosive. Pandit Nehru is to them a Messiah. Truman's Civil Liberties Bill having been defeated in Congress, they do not know what to do. Paul Robeson is their man.

A campaign for abatement of the smoke nuisance is just now on. The Mayor's proclamation reads like an Indian Governor's. He has such powers in this country. There is also a drive on just now against venereal disease. You will be surprised to read such officially-advertised warnings in India as I read on the walls and boards of Chicago. Venereal disease is a matter on which there ought to be no foolish secrecy and no false reserve.

A Press companion who was sitting throughout by my side when we visited the tractor company was Jack Homer, an American priest who takes lively interest in Negroes and writes for their papers. He asked me



whether Pandit Nehru was going to visit some of the prisons in the States. It is of course not in the official programme. He told me that some of these prisons are as bad as the ones we have in India—rather had under the British. The lot of political prisoners, as he explained to me, is as bad as it was when Pandit Nehru was kept in jail. “He is an expert on prisons, having got there many times. Why does he not look into our prisons ?” There is no doubt that the law of sedition in America is scandalous. Justice is very unsafe. It is all the British India era over again—mock justice in political cases and bad treatment in jails.



## ADDRESS TO THE CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

*(Chicago : October 28, 1949)*

### **"Gandhian Technique to Solve World Problem"**

Pandit Nehru urged the world to consider the Gandhian technique of non-violence" as a possible solution to the problems that beset it.

Winding up his two-day visit to Chicago, Pandit Nehru observed in the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel of the Chicago University that another war "could be a disaster unparalleled in human imagination."

Mankind's solution of the riddle of atomic energy "placed the key to happiness in his own hands," but unless the world "rids itself of fear wrong steps may be taken," he added.

In an 80-minutes address in the vaulted Gothic cathedral, which Pandit Nehru said was "my first experience in speaking in a chapel," the Indian leader reviewed the trials through which his own country had passed, and said India "urgently needs peace to develop itself."

He reiterated India's desire to keep out of the United States and Russia, but maintained : "It would be unrealistic to believe India could remain aloof from world affairs. India cannot be isolated because in the world to-day no country, big or small, can be itself apart."

Pandit Nehru was introduced to the assembly by Mr. Laird Bell, Chairman of the Chicago University's



Board of Trustees, who thanked the Indian leader for including Chicago in his itinerary.

### **Tribute to Premier**

He hoped that the Prime Minister's voyage of a discovery of America had shown him "we are not entirely the imperialistic monster painted in some quarters."

Mr. Bell paid a tribute to the Indian leader as the man who "carried the Indian people through their struggle, despite immense difficulties." He asserted that, after knowing Pandit Nehru it was easy to understand the "adoration which millions upon millions of his countrymen give him."

Addressing the huge gathering the Prime Minister observed that the question the world now faced was "not one of victory or defeat but the deeper one of objectives."

He pointed out that the Western Allies had achieved the most smashing victories in both world wars, but had never achieved peace. I do not know how far the Gandhian technique of non-violence is applicable to the world's problems to-day, but I believe it is worth thinking about. With this thought which I would like you to consider I leave you."

### **Dilemma of Fear, No Radical Formula to Offer**

Pandit Nehru appealed to the world to free itself from "this dilemma of fear" which, he said, gripped men's mind to the exclusion of positive matters. Declar-



ing that "I have no radical formula to offer any of you for this dilemma," he added that he, nevertheless, felt all the world should bend its utmost energies to the task of peace because another conflict would be one from which "modern civilisation could hardly survive."

The Prime Minister told a hushed audience gathered in one of American's most beautiful examples of Gothic architecture that he was not especially frightened by atom bombs, but hoped that the newly unleashed energy could be applied to peaceful purposes. "Personally, I am not terribly frightened of the atom bomb." This was principally because he did not think anyone would use it against India. The fear endangered by the possibility of atomic warfare was, however, warping men's mind. He deplored the fact that science, just when it developed "to where it can satisfy the needs of all the world," found it necessary to "devote its resources to the production of bombs."

### **Leader's Activities**

In a philosophical discourse which disclosed his feeling that he had not yet been able to accomplish all he would like in India, Pandit Nehru said that political leaders sometimes must realise that they could not apply their principles absolutely. "A political leader functions through the activities of other individuals whom he leads. A political leader's activity is governed not entirely by his understanding of what he says. You have to function through men and groups not as an individual. Sometimes one must compromise because there are so



many forces at play. But when one compromises, he should not compromise the basic truth, although one may limit its applications."

Asserting that the key to India's stability lay in the fact that "it has dealt with the agrarian problem" which he described as the "biggest problem in Asia," Pandit Nehru pointed out that India was breaking up feudal estates. "We have gained a sense of confidence because the period of struggle has been gone through" in this respect.

Pandit Nehru's Chicago University speech wound up his hectic two-day tour of Chicago and its vicinity, in which he talked with industrialists, farmers and educators in the mid-western metropolis.

Obviously fatigued by his strenuous schedule, he spoke extemporaneously in a rather listless manner to his audience at the chapel.

Before making his address, the Indian Prime Minister spent about 30 minutes at the home of Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, resting after his drive through the nearby Illinois countryside where he partook of a typical American farmers' dinner as one of the affairs staged by the State Department in his honour.

### **Visit to Museum**

*P. T. I, Reuter* adds : Returning from his visit to the farms, Pandit Nehru visited the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, where he saw the marvels of modern science, including some radio-active frogs



capable of setting off by their proximity a special type of "indicator light."

He also saw Chicago's only "coal mine" inside the Museum.

The frogs which are kept in a glass-topped cage have been rendered radio-active by a special process. When an indicator detector is moved into position just above a radio-active frog electric lights on both sides of the cages go up. If the indicator is similarly moved above other frogs in the cage which are not radio-active nothing happens.

The coal mine is a marvel of make-believe. When one descends through the cage "into the bowls" of the mine, one feels as if one has gone down a great distance and the impression is confirmed by the teams of coal on the walls and all the coalcutting and transporting implements. Actually, however, the cage goes only as far as the basement.

Pandit Nehru also saw the latest and oldest models of motor cars, the newest radar equipment and a doll-house.

This doll-house has been presented to the Museum by a woman named Colleen Moore, who had specially come to the Museum for the occasion because she said "Nehru my hero."

She obtained Pandit Nehru's autograph on a small book on which she explained were the signatures of "only the greatest men of the world."



The Museum was more than usually packed with spectators, a large number of whom had specially come to see Pandit Nehru.

### **Development Plans in India : Call To Students**

The Prime Minister also attended a reception by the Indian community and 200 Indian students at International House. In an address to the group, he said : "India is not going to be a second rate nation and it is your duty to see that she does not become one."

About 580 persons, including a number of Indian women were present. Some students had come from universities outside Illinois to join in the reception.

Pandit Nehru, who spoke for a few minutes in English and then in Hindustani, said : "The next few years will be a difficult period for us. It is up to you students, particularly students of the engineering and technical sciences, to sustain the great industrial and development projects that we have in hand. Every one of you should try to be a first rate man capable of discharging responsible duties. There is no place for second rate technicians in India to-day."

### **Indo-U.S. Friendship**

Pandit Nehru said : "You have just referred to the "unprecedented welcome" given to me in America. It is wrong to say that the welcome is given to me personally. It is to India, whose prestige has increased greatly during the last two years. It is due to the manner in which India has solved and is solving her problems."



“It is true I have found a wonderful welcome. You should regard yourselves as bits of India in America, as true ambassadors of your country, and strengthen the links of friendship between India and America.”

The Hindustan Students' Association of Chicago presented Pandit Nehru with an address, in which they said that the “unprecedented welcome given to you indicated the admiration and affection in which you are held in the world.”

Pandit Nehru who left Chicago early on Friday for Knoxville, Tennessee, talked for more than an hour at night with the former Minnesota Governor. Mr. Harold Stassen, now President of Pennsylvania University.

Mr. Stassen came to the Indian leader's luxurious suite in Darke Hotel and waited for Pandit Nehru, who was at the Racquet Club, where he was the guest of one of Chicago's leading business men, Mr- J. A. Ridder.



## REMOVE WAR CAUSES

*(October 28, 1949)*

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared that he does not believe there is going to be a war in the near future, but he made a strong plea for clear thinking and vigilant action in removing three major causes of war which he sees: a lack of national freedom, racial inequality, and want and misery. He also strongly endorsed the United Nations as the only path to world government.

Addressing 1,400 guests at a dinner at the Sherman Hotel sponsored jointly by the Council of Foreign Relations and the Association of Commerce and Industry of Chicago, Nehru said he has found during his stay in the United States that "a very vast majority of people here are strongly inclined toward and desirous of peace." The tremendous position which the United States has achieved in the world to-day also involves a great responsibility, Nehru said, and he feels large numbers of the American people are fully conscious of this responsibility and "eager to discharge it".

Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson introduced Nehru to the dinner gathering and a nation wide radio audience as "the Voice of India, home of one-sixth of the whole human race." Nothing that few men have had such influence in this age, swept by the tides of history so powerful that they shatter human understanding, the governor said, "to this small company of the truly great" Nehru belongs. He belongs, also, the



Governor said, to the even smaller group of "Historic figures who wear a halo in their lifetime." Whenever the problems of Illinois depress him, Stevenson said, he thinks of Nehru and the problems which beset him and feels better.

President Kestnbaum of the Council spoke of the even larger audience outside the Grand Ballroom that wanted to get to the dinner. President Ellered of the Association referred to Nehru as "one of the most important men in the world today."

### **Nehru Urges "Working" Not "Wishing" for Peace**

Calling for "clear thinking and vigilant action" to prevent future wars, Nehru said "working for peace, not merely wishing for it" is necessary. If three major causes of war are removed, he declared, those who want war or aggression will be reduced very greatly.

During the period Nehru said world government ultimately ought to come and must come. But, he cautioned, "the United Nations to-day is the only way the world is trying to co-operate. It is the only thing which may develop into a world government." The Prime Minister said it is easier to strengthen the United Nations and make it into a world government than to scrap it and start afresh.

Asked about a Marshall Plan for India, Nehru said he was not sure what that would mean, but that what his country wants is development of her resources. "I should imagine President Truman's Point Four



would be very helpful in regard to technical help," he said. Explaining that his country was suspicious of any kind of domination, he said the people feel "better to delay something than to endanger the freedom they have won." The audience broke into applause as he said this.

Speaking of his own interest in the United States, Nehru told of the great deal he has read of America's history, literature and great men. "Many people in my country were inspired by the example of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and others," he said. Although India's struggle for independence was different, "we learned much from them."

### **Explains Gandhiji's Message**

Talking of "the enveloping fear which surrounds people", Nehru explained Mahatma Gandhi's message, which was "not to fear". An outside power can govern only as long as people are afraid, but if people have no fear, he said, the state can kill them but cannot put them down. Here again the audience applauded.

Nehru stated his belief that "internationalism is growing and must grow"—but it can grow effectively only when nationalism has been achieved. He discussed at length the problem of preservation of individual freedom, while centralization increases. Centralization tends to limit individual freedom, he said, and an extreme example of centralization is the Soviet system.

Individual freedom is essential, Nehru maintained, and should be circumscribed only to the extent



absolutely necessary. Saying he would not like to lose his own individual freedom, he added he does not think humanity advances if freedom is limited.

“We in politics forget that whatever we do, it is essential that we adopt the right method to achieve that objective,” said Nehru. This led him to a discussion of another of Gandhiji’s teachings, that “you can never justify even a good end by bad means.” Nehru told the applauding audience, “if you think war solves a problem, I think you are entirely mistaken.” Referring to the two world wars that were fought to end wars, Nehru said this generation has so far not profited by its own experience, much less by the experience of others.

At the speakers’ table with Nehru, in addition to Stevenson, Ellerd and Kestnbaum, were Mayor Kennelly, Senator Paul Douglas, and a former Vice-President of the United States, Gen. Charles Dawes.

### **Nehru Drives Around City**

Before dinner and after leaving the International Harvester plant, Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi drove around the town for about 45 minutes with friends. Passing a store of the Atlantic and Pacific Food Company, Nehru asked about it and expressed his desire to see a self-service food shop. The next store along the route was the National Food store. Nehru was conducted through the store by a girl clerk who explained the operation of the self-service store to the Indian Prime Minister.

Nehru decided to walk the remaining six blocks to the hotel, so the group set out. On the way they passed



a Walgreen Drug Store, one of a large chain of drugstores throughout America. The manager showed Nehru the store and a friend said he appeared "very intrigued".

### **Nehru Inspects American Tractor Plant**

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru got a first-hand view of how American tractors are made from start to finish.

Accompanied by the party of Indian and U.S. officials and press representatives, who are with him on his cross-country tour of the United States, the Prime Minister made an inspection tour of the Chicago Tractor Works of the International Harvester Company.

The Indian leader spent 50 minutes touring the forge shop, machine shop, gear department, assembly line, display rooms, and the shipping, sheet metal and engineering departments. Like all visitors, Nehru wore a pair of sterilized safety goggles for protection on his tour of the plant.

Both outside and inside the plant buildings, workers lined up to see the Prime Minister. Many of the early-shift employees, who went off duty at four o'clock, waited till Nehru came past their shops before leaving. As a group of company officials, newsmen and the official party followed the Indian leader, a worker occasionally was asked what he thought of the Prime Minister. A typical reaction, voiced by an inspector on the assembly line, was "he's swell".

In the display room, where shiny red tractors of all varieties gleamed, the Prime Minister shook hands with two workers as cameras clicked: Frank de Angelis,



44 years old worker who came from Bari, Italy, 25 years ago, and Lewis Marsh, six-foot Negro machine operator and steward of Department 56.

Nehru shook hands with another Negro worker and watched as tester Al Cloutier drove a finished tractor off the assembly line. Walking along the assembly line, the Prime Minister had seen the various parts of a tractor put together.

India is buying many tractors from International Harvester, and company officials said two such tractors, boxed and marked "India", were awaiting shipment at the time. Others still are to be made.

### **Miniature Model Presented to Nehru**

The Indian leader, who appeared keenly interested in everything he saw and asked many questions, took particular interest in a small model of the TD-24, the biggest of all the company's tractors, with a 140 horsepower motor. The miniature model, painted red like its large counterpart, was run by electricity and operated in a sandbox. While Nehru watched, a company official announced that the miniature tractor was a present to Nehru for his grandson.

Fowler McCormick, chairman of the board of International Harvester, greeted Nehru as he entered the large building. A number of other top company officials were present and went along on the tour.

Tractor Works Manager Menno Felber and Executive Vice President of the company Giles C. Hoyt explained the operations to Nehru. In the forge shop, Nehru saw 27 steam-operated hammers and stood for a long



time looking at the largest of these, which made a terrific noise. All the furnaces in the forge, which are fired by oil, were going full blast. The forge produces seven million pounds of forging every month.

As he walked through the gear department, Nehru saw one of the nine subcafeterias for the workers. There is also a main cafeteria for serving meals to workers, which seats 450 people.

The tractor works is one of the six International Harvester plant in Chicago, and one of 23 IH plants in the United States. It covers 69 acres and has 34 buildings with over a million and a half square feet of floor space. In these buildings are housed 3,000 machines.

Employees, who work in three eight-hour shifts, enjoy many advantages, such as a credit union, where they may deposit savings or apply for loans ; hospitalization benefits and a medical department, with X-ray equipment and an ambulance ; a vacation plan ; and provision for buying IH common stock through weekly payroll deductions.

During the year, there were 800 women workers in the tractor plant, manning machines. At present about five per cent of the employees are women.



## AMONG THE FARMERS

(Chicago : October 28, 1949)

### **"Seeing men rather than things"**

At New York Pandit Nehru had told an audience that he had come to the United States to see men rather than things — he ardently desired to escape from official shackles and to move among the common people.

At Chicago he saw and met plenty of men, farmers, workers, college professors, and also saw things of interest to him and his country.

In deference to the Prime Minister's wishes the organisers of his itinerary here kept down the official programme to the minimum and arranged it according to his expressed desire and tastes.

Visits to factories and farms and the Science and Industries Museum in the midst of public and private dinner and luncheon engagements was indeed strenuous, and at the end of the second day of almost nonstop programme, the Prime Minister betrayed signs of fatigue, as he addressed Indian students at International House.

### **Visit to farms**

A trip which he thoroughly enjoyed was his visit, on Thursday morning, to three middle class farms near the village of Yorkville 45 miles from Chicago. He watched with interest corn picking and grinding machines, he entered barns and inspected cows, hogs and poultry, he chatted with farmers and their children, visited their kitchens fitted with modern ap-



pliances and posed for photographs with his farmer hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Michell, with whom he had "a harvester's dinner." The menu consisted of roast chicken and mashed potatoes, gravy, buttered corn, creamed peas, relishes, cottage, cheese, a big dish of celery, raw carrots and olives, cranberry sauce, apple pie and cheese and salad made of apples, pine-apples, grapes and pearuts. After the morning's exhausting programme, largely consisting of walking through breast-high corn fields and dairies and poultry farms, Pandit Nehru ate the fare with relish.

It was well past 2-30 P.M. when the party, including Mrs. Pandit and Mrs. Indira Gandhi returned to the city to visit the Chicago University's unique Museum of Science and Industry.

### **Impressive function**

The most impressive function of the day was Pandit Nehru's address at the Rockefeller Memorial chapel of the Chicago University which was packed with 2,000 persons besides 300 in galleries and another 300 assembled on the lawns outside to hear him.

The Prime Minister spoke for 40 minutes in the course of which he presented to the Americans stories of India's struggle for independence and Mahatma Gandhi's role in it and the principles governing India's conduct in international affairs.

His speech was preceded by an invocation by the Rev. John B. Thompson's, hymns and Tagore's song "Madhu Gandhe Bhara" sung to the accompaniment of the "tabla" played by Indian students.



The Prime Minister was introduced by Mr. Laird Bell, Chairman of the Board of Trust of the University. The choral sung by the University choir was appropriate, and its burden was : "They are slaves who fear to speak for the fallen and the weak."

From the University chapel, Pandit Nehru rushed to International House to meet, and address, about 200 Indian students. His advice to the young men was to concentrate on their technological and engineering studies and come back home to build up New India. He reminded them : "Your generation is condemned to hard labour."

The long day concluded with a private dinner given by Mr. Joseph E. Ridder, the publisher, at the Racquet Club. Early on October 28, Pandit Nehru and party flies to Knoxville to have a look at the famous Tennessee Valley project.



## IMPORTANT TALKS WITH NEHRU

*(October 29, 1949)*

Pandit Nehru arrived at this lovely resort on October, 29, morning after an overnight train trip from Washington. Pandit Nehru returned to Washington by air on the night of October 28, after spending the day inspecting the vast Tennessee Valley Authority power and flood control project.

Pandit Nehru caught the night train after an early dinner at the Indian Embassy in Washington. The change in the programme was necessitated by poor flying weather and unsatisfactory landing conditions at the small airport here.

The Prime Minister was joined at Washington by Mr. Bajpai who had remained there when Pandit Nehru went to Chicago.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, accompanied Pandit Nehru to White Sulphur Springs, where the party are guests of the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Louis Johnson. Mr. Johnson was entertaining the group to lunch.

Pandit Nehru is scheduled to begin his crowded week-end scheduled with an address before the Business Advisory Council at nearby Hot Springs, Virginia, in the afternoon. He will return here for a formal reception in the evening. Plans are made to accommodate 152 of the nation's top military, diplomatic, Cabinet and business leaders.



Early arrivals were Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, and the head of the Air Force, Mr. Charles Luckman. Among those who have accepted the invitations for the reception are the Labour Secretary, Mr. Maurice Tobin, the Air Secretary, Mr. Stuart Symington, the Agriculture Secretary Mr. Charles Brannan, and the Assistant Secretary of Defence, Mr. Stephen Early.



## ADDRESS TO THE BUSINESS ADVISORY COUNCIL

*(White Sulphur Spring : October 30, 1949)*

### **“Mutually Satisfactory Aid Welcome”**

A strong appeal for American co-operation in the industrial and agricultural development of India was made by Pandit Nehru.

“India would welcome foreign capital to help its progress if it does not conflict with other interests now under development,” he said.

Pandit Nehru was addressing the Business Advisory Council which consist of leading Government and industrial personalities.

Pandit Nehru named food as India's No. 1 problem and assured that everything was being done to meet the problem by half a dozen power projects which would serve the dual purpose of improving irrigation and buttressing industrial energy.

Pandit Nehru said that the division of the sub-continent gave most grain-producing areas to Pakistan. This left his Government with the problem of finding new methods of keeping its people fed with grain and rice.

Pandit Nehru acknowledged that independence was the primary objective of India, but added that the final goal of improving India's standard of living still lies ahead. However, he said, his Government's aim was to move all aspects of Indian life on an even keel rather than permit one phase to outdistance another.



Pandit Nehru underscored his plea for co-operation by pointing out that in the narrowing world any improvements accruing from advances made in India or Asia were bound to show their effects in all other parts of the world.

Pandit Nehru said : "Any kind of co-operation would have to be mutually satisfactory to the U.S.A. and India. How it can be worked out would have to be determined." Pandit Nehru explained that most of the natural resources of India had been under British control. "We are anxious to develop our interest. Yet oil is one of the sources which it would be difficult for India to develop."

Pandit Nehru suggested that American technical knowledge could go a long way in on-the-spot development of Indian resources.

Pandit Nehru said that India was moving to solve her educational problems by sending out prospective teachers on a selective basis for training abroad who could be brought back to impart their knowledge to the people and by stepping up internal teaching facilities. He explained that some 2,000 Indian students studied abroad less than three years ago, but the number since had declined.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. G.S. Bajpai assisted Pandit Nehru in explaining the reason for preferential trade with England. They said that it was due to the carry-over policies when India was part of the British Empire, but said that the dollar difficulty was another reason which compelled India to turn to the sterling area



because of cheaper price structures. Mr. Bajpai, however, reminded the audience that since independence was won all limitations were lifted giving India free access to shop around for the most favourable markets.

On transportation problems, Pandit Nehru said that the war had left rail-roads practically out of commission partly owing to the fact that transportation equipment, which was moved to the Middle East, had never returned. He reported that satisfactory progress was made in restoring lines.

Mr. Deshmukh informed the gathering that India had poured its \$34 million World Bank loan into reconstructing India's railways. Most of the loan was used to buy locomotives.

### **American Technical Knowledge**

Pandit Nehru also expanded his bid for American technical knowledge by issuing a general blanket invitation to engineering experts who could serve as a "sort of chief engineers" for the development of power projects in his industrially-minded nation. He said he would "like to encourage" tourist trade and said India could absorb many more travellers. In this connection the Prime Minister asserted that airlines, now operating in India were privately owned except one connecting the country with Britain.

Pandit Nehru explained that the work now being done towards stepping up food production in India was directed towards selective farming, such as showing better seeds, increasing acreage and yields and introducing more agricultural machinery. He said the country had



a deficit of about ten per cent to make up in feeding productivity. India eschewed any long-range help because it would tend to make the people "helpless."

A question by Mr. Austin Wood who runs the West Virginia chain of Ogden newspapers as to what India was doing to boost her dollar purchasing power led into an explanation about food scarcity and inflation.

Mr. Deshmukh said the Government recognizes the presence of inflation and was doing everything to take care of it "so that the nation can cultivate its dollar power." Pandit Nehru made his appearance before the Business Advisory Council shortly after settling at White Sulphur Springs for a week-end of relaxation. The Prime Minister's party included Mr. Louis Johnson, U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Charles Sawyer, Commerce Secretary and Mr. Charles Brannan, Agricultural Secretary, Pandit Nehru was given an ovation when he entered the Council room.

Pandit Nehru got a glimpse of the luxurious side of the American life when he visited two of the nation's swankiest spas on a 40-mile motor trip through the colourful Southern countryside. He returned to his hotel at White Sulphur Springs late in the afternoon after being driven with Mr. Johnson and a small contingent of dignitaries for his extemporaneous address to the Business Advisory Council at Hot Springs.

After the meeting Pandit Nehru was feted at a luncheon banquet in which he was introduced by Mr. Johnson as one of the seven greatest men—the term



used by the late President Roosevelt and President Truman in inviting Pandit Nehru to America. Mr. Johnson also reminded the audience that India was "one of our greatest allies during the war."

In one of the most elaborate affairs of its type held here, Pandit Nehru was feted on Saturday night at a banquet attended by 150 notables including Cabinet officials, business leaders, Governor Patterson of West Virginia and two of his predecessors.

In his second address - at the banquet last night - Pandit Nehru pledged himself to work for the improvement of India's standards and enhancement of her position in the world.

Leading Government officials and industrialists were present.

The Prime Minister said that his country might have stumbled before and might falter again, but is facing the future with a feeling of confidence. "We shall continue to go on."

"India has won the first stage of her struggle when she achieved her freedom, but the more important stage of raising the standard of living in the country still lies ahead," he said. The burden of achieving that goal lies squarely on the shoulders of the people. "We are not going to progress by other people's work but only our own."

Pandit Nehru said that the goodwill and affection shown him on his tour of America had dispelled an illusion he had been made to conceive that the Americans



were hard-hearted and businesslike people. In fact the Americans are emotionally sentimental, he said.

The manner in which he was received in the U.S.A. was not so much a demonstration for him personally as for his country, Pandit Nehru said. In fact, he was accepted as a sort of symbol of the things for which India has struggled. He sought to liquidate any sentiment which might be shown him in the belief that his was an unpleasant life because of his country's problems which had brought him to live in a state of excitement despite its ups and downs. Pandit Nehru observed he found this excitement good because it washed away any dullness. He also forgave those who opposed him and said that he had no illwill towards them.

Pandit Nehru said the sumptuous banquet overwhelmed him as did the lavishness of the spa. He said: "I have a slightly guilty feeling of running away from my job and having a splendid time."

Pandit Nehru said he was first invited to America by the late President Roosevelt 7½ years ago but was forced to forgo it because of internal conditions in India at the time.



## ADDRESS TO CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY

*(San Francisco, October 31, 1949)*

### **“An Age Of Paradox”**

Pandit Nehru made a few extemporaneous remarks before reading the prepared text of his speech to the University of California.

He said the “beautiful setting of the campus” and the gathering of students would be an unforgettable memory for him throughout his life.

He did not easily fit, he explained, “in the category of a politician or prime minister.” He generally liked to get closer to his audience by speaking to them in an informal manner without script.

However, since he had come to the U.S.A. he had been warned he had better not speak extemporaneously and run the risk of “saying things I ought not to say.”

Returning to his prepared text, Pandit Nehru said that in the U.S.A. he had met many of the leaders of the country, men and women who wielded authority and shouldered responsibility. “I wish I could have had more opportunities of meeting ordinary people and seeing them at work and play.”

The time had been limited and so he had regretfully to deprive himself of such opportunities.

Although President Truman described his visit as “a voyage of discovery” he had to learn and find out many things in the U.S.A. “How can anyone discover this great country in three or four weeks?” he asked.



All his life he had been engaged in a quest of discovery in his country. He had found in India much that had inspired him. And yet India had only been partially discovered by him and he was continuously finding out new facts of her many-sided personality that surprised him.

### **Real Strength Of America**

During the few days he had spent in the States he had realised "wherein lies the real strength of America."

"I made myself receptive to understand somewhat the spirit of America and the sources of the inner strength that has made her great. All the world sees sometimes, perhaps with a little envy, her great prosperity and the tremendous advance she has made in the application of sciences for human betterment.

"From that, all of us have to learn much and yet it was obvious to me that no great material advance could take place or could last long unless there were deeper foundations underlying it. The picture of the average American presented to the outside world is a hard-headed, efficient and practical business man, intent on making money and using that money to add to his power and influence.

**"That picture, no doubt, has some truth in it. And yet there is another picture, and, I think, a much more enduring one, of a warm-hearted and very generous people full of goodwill to others and with a firm belief in the basic principles on**



**which this great republic was founded—the principles of freedom, equality and democracy.**

“It has been my good fortune to see this picture wherever I have gone and this has made me realize wherein lies the real strength of America. Everywhere I have found a love of freedom and a desire for peace and co-operation, and, among the people, a frankness and human approach which make a friendly understanding easy. Because of this approach I have also ventured to speak frankly what I had in my mind.”

Drawing a geographical parallel between his country and the U.S.A., Pandit Nehru said that India too “has had many windows looking out at various parts of the great Asian continent. India has had close contacts with western Asia, central Asia, south-east Asia and the Far East.

“Geography has played a dominant part in the history and development of both the U.S.A. and India, and will no doubt continue to influence considerably the course of events in the future. That influence is not so great to-day as it used to be because of the tremendous development of transport and communications which make every country almost the neighbour of another.

“The U.S.A., by virtue of her origin and history, naturally looked towards Europe. Europe was in fact, for a long period the principal centre of the world’s activities.



## Asia's Re-emergence

“ A change of supreme importance has now come over the world scene and that is the renaissance of Asia. The political problem, that is the achievement of political freedom, has certain priority because without it no effective progress is possible. But owing to the delay in the achievement of political freedom, the economic problem has become equally important and urgent.

“ National freedom is thus the first essential in Asia and although most of the countries of Asia have achieved this, some still remain under colonial domination. These relics of foreign rule will have to go, giving place to national freedom and thus satisfy nationalism, which is the pre-dominant urge of Asian peoples.

“ Economic betterment of the vast masses of Asia is equally essential both from their point of view and from the point of view of world peace and stability. This will involve a progressive industrialization of these countries and in this the U.S.A. can play a vital role.

“ There is another danger which is always to be borne in mind and that is racial discrimination and inequality. This is also a relic from the past which has no place to-day and is naturally resented by those who suffer under it.”

Pandit Nehru spoke of “ un usual struggle ” India had fought under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and said : “ The great man, whom we call the Father of



our Nation, gave some impression of his mighty personality to India, and more especially to our generation.

“And so to-day as we look out upon the world and fashion our foreign policy, we are governed by something of that idealism as well as the realistic approach that Gandhiji gave to our struggle. If India is to play any effective part in world affairs, or even in her own development, she has to function in conformity with the ideals she has upheld these many years.

“These ideals are essentially of peace and co-operation, of national freedom, of a growing internationalism, leading to a world order, of equality among nations and peoples and of eradication of want and misery from the millions who suffer from it.

“Mahatma Gandhi taught us to view our national struggle always in terms of the under-privileged and those to whom opportunity has been denied.

### **Economic Needs**

“Therefore, there was always an economic facet to our political struggle for freedom. We realized that there was no real freedom for those who suffer continually from want and because in India there were millions who lacked the barest necessities of existence, we thought of freedom in terms of raising and bettering the lot of these people. Having achieved political freedom it is our passionate desire to serve our people in this way and to remove the many burdens they have carried for generations past.

“Mahatma Gandhi said on one occasion that it was his supreme ambition to wipe away every tear from



every eye. That was an ambition beyond even his power to realize, for many millions of eyes have shed tears in India, in Asia and the rest of the world and, perhaps, it may never be possible to stop completely this unending flow of human sorrow. But it is certainly possible for us to lessen human want and misery and suffering, and what are politics and all our arguments worth, if they do not have this aim in view ?”

Pandit Nehru said no result of lasting benefit to mankind could be achieved by following means “that are wrong and evil,” and called for the elimination of fear and hatred.

**“We live in an age of paradox and continuing crisis. We talk of peace and prepare for war. We discuss internationalism and one world and yet narrow nationalism governs our activities.**

“There is said to be a conflict of ideologies and this argument and the conflict that flows from it usually take place without much thought of the ideals and objectives that should govern us. We move from one temporary expedient to another, never catching up with the pace of events.

“Priding ourselves on shaping history, we function day to day as slaves to events that inexplorably unroll themselves before our eyes, and fear possesses us and hatred follows in its train.

“None of us, and specially those who have to shoulder the burden of responsibility, can ignore the realities and dangers of the moment. We cannot live in an idealistic world of our own creation.



“Yet it may be that what we consider the immediate reality might only be a passing phase, and we have to look a little deeper to understand and control events. The world has made astonishing progress in technology and material advancement.

“That is all to the good and we must take full advantage of it but the long course of history and human development shows us that there are certain basic truths and realities which do not change with the changing times and unless we hold fast to them, we are likely to go astray.

“The present generation has often gone astray in spite of all the wonderful accumulation of knowledge that we possess and danger always looms ahead. What then is lacking and how can we solve these crises in human affairs? I am no prophet nor have I any magical remedy to suggest. I have tried to grope my way to think straight and to co-ordinate, as far as possible, action to thought. I have often found it difficult to do so for action on the political plane is not individual action but group and mass action.”

He was convinced that any policy, which preaches hatred and violence, could only lead to evil results.

“However good our motives may be and however noble the objectives we aim at, if the path we follow and the means we adopt are wrong and evil, we can never achieve that objective. If we seek peace, we must labour for peace and not for war. It is true that there is plenty of violence and hatred in the world to-day and we cannot permit this to triumph as we cannot



submit to any aggression. We have to combat evil and aggression, but in doing so, we have to remember not only our aims and objectives but also that the means we adopt should be in conformity with them.

## **Freedom Of Individual**

“The growth of modern civilization with its magnificent achievements has led more and more to the centralization of authority and power and encroachment continues to be made on the freedom of the individual. Perhaps, to some extent this is inevitable as the modern world cannot function without considerable centralization. We see, however, this process of centralized authority being carried to such an extreme that individual freedom almost vanishes.

**“The State becomes supreme in everything, or groups of individuals have so much concentrated power at their disposal, that individual freedom tends to fade away.**

“Different and sometimes hostile ideologies, from their respective points of view, encourage this concentration of power in the State or the group. This must ultimately result not only in human unhappiness but also in a lessening of that creative genius which is so essential for the growth of humanity.

“We have to find some balance between the centralized authority of the State and the assurance of freedom and opportunity to each individual.

“This and like problems will have to be solved in the minds of men before we can mould the shape of



things to our liking. What more appropriate place can there be for the consideration of these problems than a university where the rising generation is being trained to take part in the business of life and to shoulder its burdens.

“As I stand here in the beautiful campus of this University, surrounded by the peace and beauty of nature and the creative genius of man, the conflicts and troubles of the world seem far away.

“The past crowds in upon me, the past of Asia, of Europe and of America, and standing on this razor’s edge of the present I try to peep into the future. I see in this past the long struggle of man against adverse surroundings and in the face of innumerable difficulties.

“I see his repeated martyrdom and crucifixion, but I see also the spirit of man rising again and again and triumphing over every adversity.

“Let us look at this perspective of history, gain wisdom and courage from it, and not be oppressed too much by thinking of the past and of the present.

“We are the heirs of all these ages that have gone before and it has been given to us to play our part during a period of great transition.

“That is a privilege and responsibility and we should accept it without fear or apprehension. History tells of the struggle of man for freedom. That freedom is not merely political, but must fulfil his destiny. That freedom has also to be envisaged to-day not merely in terms of group freedom often resulting in nations war-



ring against each other, but an individual freedom, within free national groups in the larger context of world freedom and order.

“The problems of Asia, of Europe and of America can no longer be dealt with separately. They are parts of a single world problem. The future appears to be full of conflict and difficulty, but I have little doubt that the spirit of man, man who has survived so much will triumph again.”



## U. S. AID IN INDIA'S RIVER PROJECTS.

*(October 31, 1949)*

Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, in an address at Knoxville, Tennessee after visiting the Tennessee Valley Authority, expressed the hope that India will receive American co-operation in working out her river development schemes.

Nehru said that India has planned many multipurpose river valley projects similar to TVA, but plans are held up for financial reasons and, more important, for lack of experienced personnel. It was in this latter connection that he referred to his hope for the co-operation of Americans.

The Prime Minister spoke at a luncheon given by city, state and TVA officials after his visit to various elements of the TVA system. During his tour of the project, he visited the large powerhouse of Norris Dam, then drove to the boat basin behind the dam. Powerhouse Chief Engineer Clarence Blee showed the Prime Minister a large map of TVA and explained the detailed operations of the system, dealing with flood control and hydroelectric aspect. Blee pointed out that there are 27 dams in the TVA project and one now under construction.

Blee also pointed out that some of the important aspects of TVA include malaria control through fluctuating water levels, flood control, large electrical developments, and inland waterways.

### **Blee Explains Social Benefits of TVA**

When Nehru asked about the social consequences of the project, Blee pointed out the resultant improved



standard of living and increased industrial and commercial development in the area, due partly to cheaper power but also because of improved land, fertilizers and other developments contributing to the welfare of the people.

At the luncheon afterward, TVA Director James P. Pope, who presided, asserted that "development of the great natural resources of India" will play an important part in world development.

Nehru, in addressing the group, hailed the TVA as "this great constructive undertaking" and as "an example and symbol for the rest of the world". He said the TVA project had long been in his thoughts, adding : "The TVA has become a legend in the rest of the world. It assumed importance in other countries because it combined many aspects and especially because it had a social purpose."

As the project began to show results, the world was more and more impressed, Nehru asserted. The TVA, he said, "became an example and symbol of what other countries should do." He said that because TVA points to "a more precise social objective" it fits in with a great deal of India's own thinking.

Then he added that India's multipurpose river valley schemes are similar to TVA, but that Indian plans are held up for two reasons : first, the financial reason, and second and, more important, "the lack of experienced personnel".



As to the latter, Nehru said he hopes India will get co-operation of Americans in working out her schemes.

### **Guard of Honour Salutes Nehru on Arrival**

The Prime Minister arrived at Knoxville airport from Chicago shortly before noon on Friday, the airplane landing during a light rainfall. A company of Tennessee National Guard troops formed a guard of honour and a large group of city, country and state officials were on hand to greet the visitor, including Knoxville Mayor James W. Elmore, Jr., U.S. Senator Estes Kefauver, County Judge Howard Bozeman and Chamber of Commerce President W. F. Moehlman. Two of TVA's three directors, James P. Pope and Dr. Harry A. Curtis, and TVA General Manager George G. Gant also received Nehru. (The third TVA director, Gordon Clapp, is now in Palestine as a member of the Middle East Economic Mission).

Nehru and his party drove along the Tennessee River to Knoxville from the airport and then to Norris Dam, the first TVA dam built, 24 miles from the city.

At the conclusion of Nehru's Knoxville visit, a group of Indian students from the University of Tennessee was on hand at the airport to see the Prime Minister off. The Nehru party flew first to Washington, then entrained for White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.



## A TALK WITH INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA

*(San Francisco : November 1, 1949)*

### **"Ambassadors of India"**

Pandit Nehru said in a speech at San Francisco that the love and feelings of trust the common people of India entertained towards him was so overwhelming, he felt he could not be worthy of it "in a hundred lives."

He was speaking at a reception organized in his honour by "the Indian community on the west coast of the U. S. A."

In the front rows of the fully packed Scottish Rite Auditorium sat about 300 Indian agriculturists and traders who have made California their home since the beginning of the century. They work on farms in the Stockton district near San Francisco and were extremely disappointed that Pandit Nehru could not find time to visit their home.

Some of them wore beards and turbans. But most wore western dress with wide hats and check ties that sat off their bronzed complexions.

Pandit Nehru spoke both in Hindustani and English to the audience numbering about 1,500.

He said he had heard a great deal regarding Indians in California from Dr. Syud Hossain. It had been his intention, the Prime Minister added, to spend some time with them in their home towns, but the shortness of his stay in the U. S. A. made this impossible.

Pandit Nehru in this connection paid tribute to the work done by Dr. Syud Hossain in the U. S. A.



## **Duty to India**

Indians in California, the Prime Minister said consisted of farmers, small business men and students. The first two categories were more or less settled.

"All of you have a special duty to India and to the U. S. A. You should regard yourselves as representatives of your country and always act in a manner that will bring credit to it," he said.

They should remember that within the next three months India would be a sovereign republic. New responsibilities would fall upon them together with new rights and privileges.

Pandit Nehru spoke at great length on the inspiration provided by Mahatma Gandhi in achieving India's freedom.

"I have received enough praise to last me a life time," Pandit Nehru said. "But I should remember that the light that sparked the flame in us was Mahatma Gandhi. It was he that chalked out everything. He inspired us and got work done from us."

Pandit Nehru was cheered by the students when he said, "What India needs to-day is human material of quality. Our young men and women are the hopes of to-morrow, because on them will fall the burden of responsibility."

## **The Gandhian Way**

Some people in India, Pandit Nehru said, wished to "go away" from Mahatma Gandhi's path. That was a dangerous way. They should remember that a wrong path could never lead to any desirable end, however attractive it might appear for the time being.



Earlier, an address on behalf of "West Coast Hindustanees" was presented to Pandit Nehru.

The address said : "We, the descendants from the soil of Hindustan deem it a great privilege for having with us this day one who has led India to its cherished goal of pre-eminence amongst the free nations of this world.

"We have been closely watching not by any means inactively, nor without sympathetic co-operation, in our efforts from the freedom-loving people of this great country, the unfolding of a new chapter in the history of India. We rejoice at the rapid progress which India has made in the past two years."

After the reception a number of Indian social workers, including Mrs. Watumull, wife of the Los Angeles philanthropist, were presented to Pandit Nehru.

The Prime Minister later met a group of Indian students of California and other universities and discussed their problems with them.

Local papers gave lavish publicity to Pandit Nehru's activities here, particularly to his address to California University.

Besides very full reports, they published numerous pictures of Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* in an editorial headed "Pandit Nehru and Our World" said : "He can be glad that he (Pandit Nehru) is a sentimentalist—sentimentality being the antithesis of marxism—but we can be glad also that he is a keen political philosopher and a practical statesman.



“It is becoming more and more convenient to regard the world conflict as rushing inexorably toward a showdown of arms, and there is all too much practical justification for this kind of pessimism. But we have not gone so far down that road that we cannot find room for hope that a man or a group of men like Pandit Nehru, with his passion for peace, his devotion to neutrality and his aspiration toward a truly united world, may not provide the moral force necessary to ward off disaster.

“This is not to ascribe any super-natural powers to Pandit Nehru, we would not even venture to estimate his power among his own people. But at least he is a great and powerful man and, more significantly, one of the few such who have not surrendered to the magnetic draw of either of the world's principal political poles. It is still conceivable that the moral force he represents, thus strategically placed can reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable.”





Prime Minister Nehru shakes hands with machine operator Lewis Marsh, during his visit through the tractor works of the International Harvester Company.



The Hon'ble Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, seen with Viscount Alexander of Tunis, Governor-General of Canada.



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## GANDHI MEMORIAL LIBRARY

*(November 1, 1949)*

### **Presents Book to Proposed Gandhi Library**

As the ovation after his formal address died down, Nehru again stepped to the microphone and, saying that he had heard about the drive for a Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Library, added: "As a very small, insignificant contribution to it, I hope you will permit me to present some of my books to that section."

As a token, Nehru gave a copy of one of the smallest of his books, "Nehru on Gandhi" a collection of some of his writings published by the John Day Co. President Sproul accepted it "as a symbol of the Gandhi Library" which is to be given by the Indian students to the University Library.

Interest in Nehru's address on the part of students at the University has been tremendous for several days. "They have been talking about it for a long time," said one of the attendants, who compared the student interest to that shown a few years ago when General Marshall spoke at the Great Theatre on United Nations Charter Day.

Garff. B. Wilson, chairman of the Committee on Public Ceremonies at the University, found the interest of the students "extraordinary, particularly among Americans." Because of the crowds which assembled early, the gates had to be opened at 10 o'clock, half an hour before schedule. Wilson estimated that "at least 25,000 wanted to come," and said a



public address system had been set up for the overflow group.

Before going to the Greek Theatre, Nehru visited the university library and from the top of 307-foot high bell tower saw the vast campus, including International House, where many Indian students live. After the speech he and his party lunched on the campus, at the home of President Sproul.

### **Nehru greets Indian community in San Francisco**

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru greeted the Indian students and members of the Indian community here as "ambassadors of your country" with responsibility to both the United States and India.

Nehru spoke for about an hour, first in English and then in Hindustani, to 800 Indians and a few American friends at a reception held for him by the Indians living in California.

As he spoke to his own people, Nehru apologized that his visit to California, where the largest number of Indians in the United States is concentrated, was so short. He spoke of his long-felt desire to see these "friends of the past thirty years" and told the group that he knew something of the past history of the early settlers, who worked in California for India's Independence, and of the new comers. Nehru said that among the settlers or visitors in "the very beautiful city of San Francisco, hanging between Asia and the West" were Indian farmers, businessmen and students. "Whether you are settled here or are just here for a short time," he told the group, "each has a certain



responsibility to India as the United States. We have an ambassador in Washington, but every Indian abroad is in a sense of kind of ambassador. Abroad, you are singled out, and whatever you do or refrain from doing, has a certain significance."

### **Tells of New India's Responsibility**

Nehru then spoke to his countrymen of the responsibility which now belongs to independent India, and of the impact of Gandhi's philosophy. "If you gather here to-day to do honour to me, or my sister," he advised the group, "remember this ; we are largely the making of our great leader."

His own interest, he said, was not in what India has done but in what still must be accomplished. "We are not finished," he said. "We have not entirely honoured our pledge yet. We have talked in terms of the common man, "but freedom means nothing to him unless his lot is improved. Even though the present generation achieve something, Nehru said, it is those who follow who must carry on. "Freedom has brought no rest," he said, repeating his message to a group of engineers in India. "This generation is condemned to hard labour. But when hard labour is for great causes, then labour itself becomes a thing of joy—not a punishment.

### **Calls on Indians to Work Hard**

He called on his countrymen to work hard for a new India. "We have a great past," he said, "but however old, we face the world to-day as a dynamic



new, young country, full of eagerness to achieve success rapidly.

What a country is, Nehru declared, depends on the quality of its human material. Therefore, he said, he is interested more than anything else in "the quality of our young people in colleges, here in the United States and in India".

Then speaking in Hindustani, the Prime Minister emphasized many of the same points.

The reception was held in San Francisco's Scottish Rite Auditorium, where Nehru was welcomed by Dr. J. N. Sharma, who came to the United States in 1920, and G.R. Channon, who has been in America since 1914. Both the Indian-Americans sat on the stage with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Sharma, thanking Nehru on behalf of the group, said : "We are doubly blessed this afternoon that you are with us."



**NEHRU AND CORDELL HULL***(November 1, 1949)*

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and former U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull have exchanged cordial letters and copies of their most recent books, it has been reported here.

Nehru spoke of his long-time admiration for Hull's work "for peace among nations and freer commercial intercourse", and Hull wrote of his pleasure in watching the distinguished visitor work toward the same objectives.

The Indian leader, who just completed an inspection trip to the Tennessee Valley Authority Project at Knoxville, said in his letter to the American statesman :

"My dear Mr. Cordell Hull : Though I have never had the pleasure of meeting you, I have long admired your work for peace among nations and freer commercial intercourse during the decade or more when you shaped and guided the foreign policy of your great country.

"It would give me great pleasure to call upon you personally but, unfortunately, the programme made for me here is so crowded that I cannot add to it.

"As a token of my high regard for you, I am sending you a copy of my book 'The Discovery of India' and I hope that you would find it of some interest.

"With best wishes for your health," etc.



## Hull Thanks Nehru

Hull's letter of reply said :

"My dear Mr. Prime Minister : The message which you have been so good as to send me in your letter of October 14, gives me great pleasure. For it and for the copy of your book 'The Discovery of India', which I shall read with interest, I thank you.

"Your visit to the United States comes at a most opportune moment. You occupy a position of influence and responsibility in your own great country and as a qualified interpreter between the East and West. The more we here come to understand the thought of the people for and of whom you speak and the more those peoples come to understand our thoughts and motivations, the greater will be the assurance that by sympathetic co-operation and common effort, the world will be made safe for free and freedom-seeking men and nations.

"I have throughout my life, both in and out of office, worked for the objectives which you mention, peace among nations and freer commercial intercourse. You will find a record of my efforts in the volumes which it gives me great pleasure to send you herewith. I have observed with gratification and I shall continue to observe with interest your efforts towards the same objectives.

"It is my understanding that you are about to visit the State of Tennessee, and I wish to associate myself with my fellow Tennesseans in the hearty welcome which I know you will be given there."

Hull's most recent works are his "Memoirs", published in two volumes last year.



## AT THE RECEPTION IN SAN FRANCISCO

*(San Francisco : November 2, 1949)*

### **“A sort of abstract vacuum”**

Pandit Nehru asked for a “friendly approach” to solve international problems, particularly those of Asia.

Stating that these problems were inherent in the diversity of human life, he added he would rather have that than a “regimented and forced unity.” He declared that “in the ultimate, it is the friendly approach that counts.”

Pandit Nehru was speaking at a luncheon given in his honour by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the World Trade Association, the World Affairs’ Council and other political and economic organizations in California.

Pandit Nehru, who spoke extempore for nearly 45 minutes, said his visit to the U.S.A. illustrated the importance of the “human touch,” because it had vivified for him and made more real the picture of America which previously had been “cold” and subjective.

The 500 guests present cheered at the end of his address, which was described by many as one of the most emotional speeches he had made in the U.S.A.

### **“More Susceptible”**

Pandit Nehru said any person would have reacted to the “extreme friendliness and cordiality” he had met in America. Perhaps, he was “more susceptible” than others, but from this training in India he had developed certain “receptiveness” as to the minds of people.



**The main cause of the world's troubles to-day, Pandit Nehru declared, was the lack of human understanding. Politicians "functioned in a sort of abstract vacuum," he said, because they did not come into contact with the masses of the world to the extent warranted by their international decisions.**

It was more important than ever to-day that there should be the human touch in solving human problems. There was a tendency, he continued, to oversimplify issues.

Attempts were sometimes made to solve questions without fully understanding them. The great diversity in human affairs misled many people, and they sought answers to questions which were not properly framed or defined in their minds.

The great solvent of this difficulty was realization of the "human bond" and elimination of fear, Pandit Nehru said.

It was wrong to think that simply because a person or a people were of different culture or outlook, they were hostile. Scientific and technological advance had made the world a place of growing unity. That process should be left to take its course, rather than have a regimentation whereby people would "eat, drink, read and think in one way."

**He compared the "diversified unity" of the U.S.A. with that of India. India was an amalgamation of peoples and cultures from countries surrounding it. It also had its contacts with European culture. Both.**



**ancient and modern India was, therefore, a synthesis of the old and the new, "but there is in the mind of India to-day some kind of conflict between the old and the new over synthesis."**

In India there had been a great release of pent-up energy with the achievement of freedom. This was part of the renaissance of Asia where regions still under external domination were struggling to be free.

It was in understanding the problems of Asia that the human touch was particularly important.

Giving a military analogy, he said, the wise general, especially if he finds the opposing sides "roughly matched," prefers "indirect attack," because direct attack would bring him into a head on and unprofitable clash.

As in war so in peace the indirect approach was important.

To-day the indirect approach was the intelligent approach, by which he meant an intellectual and psychological approach, the friendly approach by one human being or class of beings to another.

**"U.P.A." adds that Pandit Nehru warned Americans not to be crude in trying to win the friendship of India. He said that all nations were sensitive about India, especially so since it had recently achieved freedom. He said: "If your approach is crude it will not work."**

He said the major problem of the day for both the East and the West was to co-ordinate freedom and



equality. Pointing out that the 19th century saw the rise of freedom Pandit Nehru said the 20th century would be known principally as an era for the emergence of equality. He said equality sometimes limits freedom, and a balance between the two must be found.

Pandit Nehru was introduced by Mayor Elmer Robinson who praised him as a "spirited, gallant fighter for the betterment of human society."

Seated at the head of the table with Pandit Nehru were high military officials and representatives of civic organizations.

Day before he had one-hour talk with the famous former German patriot and author, Thomas Mann, who lives in Los Angeles and came here specially to talk with Pandit Nehru.

Pandit Nehru said the 19th and 20th centuries gave mankind great ideas of freedom and equality. Ideas were "not so simple as some people imagine." If freedom was carried to extremes, it could lead to anarchy.

Similarly, the principle of equality could conceivably be made to infringe on freedom. "So we need human understanding in balancing these two fundamental ideas. If human values and graces of life go, the significance of life itself will be lost.

"The application of human standards alone will bring lasting peace. I know that in the ultimate all our problems will be solved in that way if what I have said—rather vaguely, I know—is considered for what it is worth it may help in understanding our problems."



Mr. Henry Norty, President of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, introduced Pandit Nehru, who was accompanied by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

Welcoming Pandit Nehru the Mayor of San Francisco, Mr. Elmer Robinson, said the cosmopolitan outlook of the people of San Francisco was due to the many races living there applying to their lives lessons of their childhood when they had grown together as equals.

He said San Francisco was proud to welcome a man who, by translating the spirituality of his leader, was helping to "prevent the darkness of materialism from threatening the ideal of human brotherhood."

### **Nehru Made Citizen of San Francisco**

Pandit Nehru was made an honorary citizen of the City of San Francisco at a civic reception given in his honour by the Mayor and Citizens' Reception Committee night before. He was presented a scroll of honour on the occasion.

Pandit Nehru was "taken completely by surprise," as he put it, when accepting the scroll.

The intended presentation had been kept a well-guarded secret. A spokesman of the city said later he did not remember a similar honour having been conferred on any visitor before.

When the reception was about to end, according to schedule, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. L. P. Gainsborough, sprang the surprise. He said "Earlier to-day, Pandit Nehru spoke of human values.



But the greatest human value to-day is the Prime Minister himself." "So the citizens of San Francisco, in token of gratitude for his visit, have decided to present him with the following scroll," he added in making the presentation.

The scroll said : "The citizens of San Francisco rejoice in your visit and welcome you most heartily.

"We are well aware that your greatness transcends the boundries of India and that you may be termed world citizen. Your name will live as that of one of the greatest exponents of the teachings of your beloved Mahatma Gandhi."

After giving a quotation from Mahatma Gandhi's writings, in which the latter had said that, although he was a nationalist, his nationalism was "as broad as the universe," the scroll continued :

"Mankind looks to you as one of its wisest leaders and is confident that you and your country will join in great task of establishing peace and prosperity throughout the world. In token of our esteem for you and the land you represent, you are hereby made an honorary citizen of the City of San Francisco and will ever be welcomed as an honoured member of our community."

The scroll ended with a quotation from the Bhagwat Gita, Chapter 8, Stanza 15, beginning with the words *Maamupetya Panarpanma* and [ending with the words *Sanshuddhim Paramamgtah*.

Pandit Nehru spoke in a low voice as he accepted the scroll. He said he had been deeply moved by the



honour done to him. He regarded it, however, as a symbolic honour to India and not to him personally.

“I thank you for the kind words you have said of me. But I am what I am because of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the affection and trust of the Indian people. So, if any credit should go at all, it should go to them.”

### **Advice on Shaping of Government Policies**

Pandit Nehru's speech at a luncheon given in his honour by leading organizations of this city brought out aspects of his personality which Americans, especially San Franciscans, appreciate. It revealed that he was satisfied that his tour had been worthwhile for the human contacts it had established and he suggested that all statesmen charged with destinies of nations should undertake such tours of study and, if so, world policies would be more humanly approached.

Pandit Nehru also emphasized the need of indirect approach in dealing with problems and policies rather than the presumably fashionable direct approach implied in open diplomacy—that caused more misunderstanding than correct understanding of peoples. This remark had obvious reference to post-war policies in which nations had been openly advising each other and thereby creating fear and hatred which ultimately paved the way for war. Discussing the twin problems of freedom and equality, Pandit Nehru pleaded for a happy balance between them in order to solve world problems.

While looking like platitudes, these remarks really contain a carefully measured assessment of values of



world problems and a just co-ordination of diplomacy mishandled and opportunities missed. You have to take these remarks in the background of what better-minded Americans are believed to have been telling him in private, namely, that Pandit Nehru's philosophy of non-violence comes timely to Americans who are once again being rushed into dangerous paths and that India's greatest force at this juncture would be to preach and practise insistently her complete neutrality.

Pandit Nehru stands to-day vindicated. His luncheon speech is taken by those in the know of things as his advice to America to pause and reconsider her post-war policies largely motivated by fear in wake of the atom bomb and all that. You will not understand the American mind unless you watch it on the spot. There is a kind of visible panic, though subdued, that war is inevitable rather than avoidable. His experience of three weeks has given Pandit Nehru the right to caution and to advise. Most Americans are not at all sure that American policies are correct or advisable and they tell you that over the lunch or dinner table and it has been presumably left to Pandit Nehru to speak audibly this inaudible voice of America.



## A TALK AT THE PRESS CLUB

*(San Francisco : November 2, 1949.)*

### **“Nehru Scouts Talk Of Mediator In Kashmir”**

Pandit Nehru scouted talk of his mediating in the cold war between the U.S.A. and Russia. He told the San Francisco Press Club that the whole affair was none of his business.

Asked about reports that he might attempt to resolve East-West disputes, he said : “It has not come up to me. It is a matter between the great Powers and not one in which I intend to interfere.”

He added it was an embarrassing question. “As a matter of fact, such talk is entirely unreal. I think it must be rather over-optimistic for any person to think that he could mediate between the great Powers.”

Pandit Nehru replied with a monosyllabic “no” to a question whether he would “look with favour” upon an invitation from President Quirino of the Philippines to join in a preliminary conference to frame a non-Communist South -East Asia pact.

Asked whether the Indian Government had decided to recognize the Communist Government in China, Pandit Nehru replied : “No, not yet.”

Did the Indian Government look with alarm at the rise of a Communist power in China, a questioner asked. Pandit Nehru replied amidst laughter : “A long time ago I gave up viewing anything with alarm.”

What form of economic assistance did India expect from the U. S. A.? The Prime Minister replied: “As



I have already said, we would like to have some wheat, technical assistance in carrying out our industrial plans and the flow of new capital.”

Asked specifically what “return for risk” American capital could expect to find in India more attractive than it could find at home, Pandit Nehru replied : “I do not know what are the prospects of return and elements of risk in America. I can only say that India offers to American capital the same terms that it offers to Indian capital.”

Pandit Nehru admitted that New India had been forced to depart from the principles of Mahatma Gandhi in certain recent actions. He acknowledged that the principle of non-violence had not been “applicable in the cases of Hyderabad and Kashmir” but said that Mahatma Gandhi had pointed out that people should “resist aggression to the point of death.”

### **Action in Hyderabad**

He defended his Government’s action in taking over Hyderabad by saying it was a “150-year-old autarchy created by the British which had to be done away with.”

Pandit Nehru was obviously irked by the repetition of questions which had been put to him before and gave very terse answers to interrogations of members of the Press Club.

The Prime Minister said that Hyderabad’s warlike preparations had been aided by certain persons in England and that those persons had since been convicted. There had been turmoil within the State and people were fleeing it. Had the Indian Government not taken



action, the peace of the whole southern India would have been threatened.

There was an overflow attendance at the dinner, "the biggest turn-out we have ever had," as the President put it, to hear Pandit Nehru. The Press Club here usually holds such functions off the record. Its mascot is a statue of a big black cat, its eyes closed, to symbolize silence. The black cat was removed for the occasion, however, as Pandit Nehru said a talk given to hundreds of Pressmen could hardly be off the record.

Pandit Nehru kept the audience enthralled with an account of how Mahatma Gandhi had inculcated fearlessness among the Indian people even during the days when charges of sedition were being brought against Indian Leaders. "Most of my public career has been off the record," he said amidst laughter.

At the request of the Club President, Pandit Nehru spoke of the present position of the Indian Princes.

He said a large majority of them had been given generous privy purses and that some of them had been absorbed in the public service.

Democratic institutions were being introduced in acceding States and except for Kashmir and Hyderabad other Princely territories, numbering about 600, had presented no difficulty after independence had been won, Pandit Nehru said.

In Hyderabad within two or three months a constituent assembly elected on more or less adult



franchise would draw up a constitution for the State and decide about the future of the Nizam. Meanwhile there was in Hyderabad a civilian not a military government though it was headed by a military officer.

On Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said it was entirely a wrong approach to think that because it had a preponderant Muslim population therefore India could have no interest in what was happening there.

### **Two-Nation Theory**

This confusion in thinking arose out of the Muslim League's two-nation theory which India had never accepted, though they had accepted partition in order not to delay freedom.

**In accepting partition India had not accepted the two-nation theory. Even separation and partition Pandit Nehru said, had been decided by legislators who had already been elected. If the people had directly voted on the question they might quite conceivably have voted the other way.**

Long before partition the National Conference, speaking for Kashmir's majority—the Muslims—had rejected the two-nation theory, he said.

Pandit Nehru then gave the history of the Kashmir dispute and Pakistan's entry into the State without any legal or constitutional standing there.

"It would have been easy for us to attack raiders' bases in Pakistan," Pandit Nehru said, "but we did not do so.



“We went to the United Nations and made a very simple plea that Pakistan be asked not to aid or abet the raiders.

“Either the Indian charge was true or untrue but the Security Council made nothing for six months.

### **Kashmir Policy Explained**

There was a veritable feast of reason and flow of soul at previous night's dinner at the Press Club in honour of Pandit Nehru. The proceedings were in typical post prandial style. Pandit Nehru as an exponent of the Four Freedoms has been a hot favourite with American journalists and they took advantage of his presence to express their admiration for him. Pandit Nehru for his part took advantage of the occasion to speak about his Government's policy towards the Indian States and India's stand on Kashmir.

American opinion requires to be educated on Kashmir still further. Pandit Nehru emphasized the point that the two-nation theory had never been accepted by India except for the very limited purpose of partition as the price of immediate acquisition of freedom and that in Kashmir the Muslim majority were for accession to India. The Kashmir question is just now in a state of suspended animation before the U.N. and Pandit Nehru did well to put American journalists and eminent public men present at the dinner through a course of education on its fundamentals before leaving the U.S.A.

He struck a characteristic note when he refused to be alarmed by anything in life, not even by the ad-



vance of Communism in China whose recognition, he said during the questions that followed, might not be withheld for long.

Earlier at a reception given to him by the Bohemian Club, Pandit Nehru presented the very picture of humility and devotion when he told his distinguished audience that when they lavished generous praise on him they must not forget the background of Mahatma Gandhi's work and influence on the events which Gandhiji helped to shape.

For the first time during the tour Sanskrit verse was heard from American lips when Mr. Gainsborough, Chairman of the Citizen's Reception Committee, quoted the lines of Krishna to Arjuna in the *Gita* in which Krishna consoles Arjuna that sorrow is impermanent and equilibrium of mind will be reached in due course. Though it was impossible to recognize the Californian dialect in which the famous lines of the Lord's song was rendered by Mr. Gainsborough he meant to say that India had advanced from frustration to fulfilment.

Pandit Nehru was caught completely off his guard when he was presented a scroll in praise of his work signed by leading citizens. He was also presented an honorary citizenship of San Francisco by the Mayor. It was, of course, only a symbolic gesture as it would be no protection to Pandit Nehru against the immigration laws of the U.S.A.

A vivid contrast between the after-noon's and evening's functions struck one and all impressively.



There was something of religious dedication in Pandit Nehru's appeal to the spirit of Gandhiji that had shaped India's history and the customary levity at dinner, specially where newspapermen are concerned. Pandit Nehru entered into the spirit of both. At any rate the dinner gave him much-needed relaxation.



## SPEECH AT VANCOUVER CIVIC RECEPTION

(Vancouver : November 3, 1949)

### “A Tremendous Desire For Peace”

Pandit Nehru declared in a speech at Vancouver on the night of November 2, that he had found “a tremendous desire for peace and understanding” during his tour of Canada and the U. S. A.

He added that he thought this was a good augury for future international relations.

The Prime Minister, who was speaking at a civic reception given in his honour by the city of Vancouver, covered in his speech the entire field of India's foreign relations with particular reference to the Commonwealth and the new spirit among the people of Asia.

He declared that in the new position that India occupied she could render the best service without entangling herself in power politics or aligning herself with a bloc of nations.

There had been too much talk recently of East and West as two different blocs, Pandit Nehru said.

Vancouver, he added, was symbolical in a sense because here East became West and *vice versa*, and both merged into one another.

Except in degree of industrial development it was meaningless to differentiate between Orient and Occident. “Such differences are going to disappear soon,” Pandit Nehru added.

He spoke of “suspicion” among Asian peoples born of two centuries of colonial rule, and said free



India would play her part in encouraging and helping subject peoples to win their freedom.

### **Nothing Mysterious**

“The so-called East has been termed mysterious and described in other ways,” he continued. “That kind of thing leads to lack of understanding. There is nothing mysterious about people inhabiting any region.

“In the present stage of world tension this lack of understanding is harmful. It is particularly important to understand the countries of the Commonwealth.

“Canada has developed against a purely European background. Later it came more and more into contact with Asia.”

Paying a tribute to the “dynamic part” played by Canada in the evolution of the Commonwealth, Pandit Nehru said : “At the last meeting of the Prime Ministers’ conference, I met Canada’s Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, the Secretary of State, Mr. Pearson, and the veteran statesman, Mr. Mackenzie King.

“As far as I can remember, Canada and India expressed more or less the same views on most subjects and to me that was both a gratifying and dynamic thing.

“India decided to remain within the Commonwealth.”

### **Canadian Visit**

Pandit Nehru said that if he had to give his impressions of his Canadian visit briefly he would say



“I have found a spirit of understanding and friendliness which has made me feel very much at home.”

Such a spirit, he said, would go a long way in the solution of present-day problems. “It seems curious how many problems seem to be duplicated between Canada and India but while India has problems in common with Canada she has even more common problems with Asia.”

“We have many problems in Asia,” Pandit Nehru continued. “The foremost is freedom. It is being increasingly realized that Asian peoples cannot be kept down by force and that Asia is going to play an important part in world affairs. But the appreciation is still not as complete as one would wish.”

### **Economic Freedom**

Stressing the inter-dependence of political and economic freedom, Pandit Nehru said it was necessary to raise the standard of life of the Asian peoples whose growth had been retarded for centuries.

Due to suspicions engendered by their past contacts with European Powers, those of the Asian peoples that had won freedom were not prepared to barter it for military or financial considerations, he said, adding: “But economic progress is absolutely essential. That is the problem before us. We on our part are determined to meet our difficulties by working hard.

“We realize that in the final analysis progress can come only by our own efforts. We welcome assistance and shall make adequate return for it. We



**are determined to succeed in stepping forward from political freedom to economic freedom.**

“That problem is common to all Asia.”

Pandit Nehru said he hoped that the spirit of understanding he had seen in the U. S. A. and Canada during his tour would be a factor in the solution of that problem.

The Mayor of Vancouver, Mr. Charles E. Thompson, presided.



## ELEVEN SPEECHES IN A DAY

(*Vancouver: November 4, 1949*)

### **Indo-Chinese Must Be Allowed To Choose Own Government.**

Pandit Nehru told a Press conference at Vancouver that India wanted the people of Indo-China to decide for themselves what kind of government they wanted. Any attempt to impose a government from without would not be successful, he said.

The Press conference marked the start of a busy morning which ended with civic lunch before he flew to Madison, Wisconsin.

Asked specifically for his opinion on the French-sponsored Bao Dai Government, he said : "My own impression is that the Bao Dai Government is not a very successful one."

He told questioners that he had not made any request to the U.S. Government for arms. He replied with a firm "no" to a report that he made such a request.

He said that in the normal course of business purchases India was buying from the U.S.A. such things as spare parts and aeroplanes but he had himself not asked for any thing in the line of defence equipment.

Asked whether the Asian Conference convened by him in New Delhi had an effect on the settlement of the Indonesian question, Pandit Nehru said : "All such things have their effect." A reporter asked whether he would continue holding such conferences. Pandit Nehru replied they had to consult each other. Asia's problem fell under regional groups. Discussions had to be held,



sometimes on a regional basis, but no concise method could be prescribed for these discussions.

To another question, Pandit Nehru replied that he had discussed with the Canadian Government at Ottawa certain questions of mutual interest regarding trade and Commonwealth affairs. He had made no financial deals with the Canadian Government and indicated none had been completed with the U.S.A.

Pandit Nehru said he had not yet learnt the details of the Hague agreement but "the mere fact of an agreement is good news."

**He said it would be "convenient for us" to get needed capital goods and food for India, paying for at least part of it by credits from blocked sterling balances. "Either country can help," he added.**

Before the Prime Minister went to the University of British Columbia, the Government and the City of Vancouver held a parade in his honour. Several thousand residents lined the streets for nearly half a mile. The parade consisted of a large number of motor-cars, some carrying the Indian flag and the Canadian Ensign and others draped in flags and flower garlands.

The crowd cheered when Pandit Nehru, dressed in European clothes, waved from his car as he drove to the University.

### **Eleven Speeches in a day**

Pandit Nehru had a crowded 24 hours studded with ten colourful events in Vancouver. He fulfilled



five engagements day before in seven hours, including a public reception, a civic dinner and a visit to a Sikh temple. In the morning, in less than four hours, he held a Press conference, took part in a parade of service units with bands playing, attended a civic reception at which he was presented with the freedom of the City of Vancouver and Golden replica of the arts of the City, and addressed students of the University of British Columbia, before driving back to the airport for the five hour trip to Madison.

Pandit Nehru was guest of honour at a luncheon given by the British Columbia Board of Trade and other organizations and in his eleventh speech in 24 hours he spoke of Indo-Canadian trade relations.

### **Warmest U.S. Welcome**

The Magazine, *Life*, says in its current issue that the U.S. welcome to Pandit Nehru was one that for "variety, quantity and simple anxiety to please was probably unmatched in the history of American hospitality."

In a pictorial review of Pandit Nehru's visit, the magazine said the welcome was "partly a tribute to the rising power and independence of his nation in world affairs but it was also a tribute to a personality whose reputation for suavity, of culture and refinement of mind was something rather special in the world inhabited by to-day's great national leaders."

*Life* described Pandit Nehru as "one of the most likeable foreign emissaries" ever to visit the U.S.A. It said that, "no matter how hectic the pressure of



official and unofficial ceremonies and dinners became, it was evident that the Pandit could take it and he was determined to learn as much about America and about as many kinds of Americans as he could possibly cram into his month-long schedule."

A picture accompanying the article showed the Prime Minister arm-in-arm with a Boston taxi-driver who asked to be photographed with him. A full-page colour picture showed President Truman welcoming Pandit Nehru to America.

### **Opportune Moment**

Undoubtedly, his visit came at an opportune moment. Americans, from Mr. Truman and Gen. Eisenhower down to the lowest man, realize that victory without peace is a betrayal of mankind, and are inclined to give the Gandhi-cum-Nehru method the chance it deserves.

Pandit Nehru's approach otherwise is also irreproachable. Having given peace the status and the colour of a practical proposition, he has opposed blocs with relentless logic and asked others to discard them forthwith. Perhaps, this will be too big a pill for the so-called statesmen to swallow.

*Pandit Nehru has won respect for himself and for India from the very beginning by not beseeching for dollars and by telling America that she can help India on a basis of something for something, and not something for nothing. This is something new for Americans in recent years, when every distinguished foreign visitor has been asking for dollars and more dollars.*



They understood him at once—perhaps, after some pleasant, preliminary shock and surprise. They began suspiciously with him as they thought him to be a Marxist or at least an old Marxist. They were jittery about what he might say, temperamental as he always is.

But slowly, they began to see Pandit Nehru clearly and emphatically. He was somewhat of a saint and a first-rate statesman too, who had not only helped India become a front-rank Power in so short a time after the acquisition of freedom, and had oddly put her back in the Commonwealth, but had also begun to preach vigorously and seriously according to Mahatma Gandhi's tenets and had made world peace a worth-while proposition and one they could have for the asking.

### **A Friend And An Ally**

Now Americans, who are most prosperous at this moment, want nothing more than peace and more abundance. In Pandit Nehru they see a friend and an ally. They have easily fallen in love with him. State Department officials were reportedly surprised at his moderation and strength of character.

Pandit Nehru has for his part been making it clear that India has just set out on her voyage of fulfillment after an age of frustration, and has a vested interest in peace. Thus a spiritual bargain, as it were, has been struck from the beginning. Pandit Nehru's appeal has been universal.

**The common man has understood him, and it is not surprising to be told by women particularly that**



**“he is a wonderful man, and to be told also by our own taxi-driver that thank God “the big guys” of Washington and Wall Street “have not got him.” To us he is our own impeccable and irreproachable Nehru, patriot, world citizen and prophet.**

**The only commitment he has made, if it can be called a commitment, is his statement that India will never be found lagging behind in the cause of liberty if it is ever in peril. American statesmen are apparently satisfied that they have got from him the word they wanted.**

Pandit Nehru has made democracy safe in Asia and the world. Pandit Nehru has also touched the human chord in Americans by his analysis of Indian and American problems and his constant reiteration of the view that they can be fellow travellers on the road to human welfare.

He has paid respect to their national heroes as any patriotic American would, by visiting their graves and laying wreaths on them. He has admired their institutions, their ways of life and their wonderful country. He has enjoyed great sights and seen their great men in every walk of life, making an easy conquest of their intellectuals and even winning over their financiers.

The tour programme planned officially did not give fuller opportunities for greater contacts. But diplomatic practices had to be observed. Friends, like Negro leaders, understand his difficulties but his emphasis that racial discrimination must go has an application also to the territory where he is speaking.



## **Reference to Russia**

Throughout his speeches Pandit Nehru, except once, has avoided direct reference to Russia, but then it is obviously and unmistakably a hit against authoritarianism that kills individual liberty. It is generally meant, and Russia must not object to this precept of political philosophy, because it is not her own.

In Canada, Pandit Nehru was on familiar ground. Ottawa was to him no more strange than New Delhi. Canadians who have done much to make the Commonwealth a living possibility find that Pandit Nehru is one of their own statesmen.

## **Crowded Programme**

The programme was very overcrowded and Pandit Nehru had to do too much. His speeches were on a high level always, though at times they revealed a rather tired man. He might have spoken less and to greater effect too.

He came here to meet Americans and there is, therefore, no justification in the complaint that he had not met Indians here on a greater number of occasions.

**He has been criticized for offering his doctrines here also on various grounds. He is too idealistic in preaching a one world and a fearless world at that in an era of alarums and excursions and atom bombs. He has not understood fully the implications of modern economy, which denies equality of opportunity to all races alike.**



How can the world do without blocs, with Moscow doing what it does everywhere ? Will not the world tumble down into war again with the economic crisis deepening everywhere ? Can Moscow ever be denied her chance ? Has he not taken India too far from her national sphere of Asia into the doubtful and dangerous orbit of Western Powers ? Is he not attempting to give India, still finding her feet, an excess of individuality in an uncertain world when alliances might help her more securely ? Has not the prophet of peace come too early and preached only too well ? All these questions are natural and answers will be easy to give. But Pandit Nehru will not be understood if he is divorced from the background of India's culture and the Gandhian traditions.

Mahatma Gandhi was laughed at in his day for what he said, but he saw India free. Pandit Nehru, his pupil and successor, might yet achieve in his life time what Mahatma Gandhi had left incomplete. Meanwhile the world will pray with Pandit Nehru "God give us peace in our time."



## ADDRESS TO THE WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY

*(Madison : November 5, 1949)*

### Nehru Condemns Race to War

Pandit Nehru urged statesmen of the world not to be stampeded into a third world war.

In the last major address of his tour of America, Pandit Nehru told an audience of about 1,500 at the University of Wisconsin that patience should be applied to the many problems besetting the globe.

He said that world leaders "should not just try to avoid the petty dangers of to-day but think in long-range terms." He reiterated, he hoped to remain neutral in the cold war between Russia and the U.S.A.

"The Gandhian tradition of non-violence and India's tremendous urge to develop her economy and a new political life without interference explains why we try to function as we do in world affairs. We cannot, however, ignore world affairs and so it has become necessary for us to function in international matters ; we couldn't escape that."

"I don't see why we should be afraid of what is happening in the world to-day." But he warned the "means are always as important as the end." The lesson of Gandhiji was that "evil means lead to an evil end. If we keep the moral precepts in mind they will bear fruit."

He warned that the industrialization of Asia will alter the balance of the world. "One should consider



the consequences to the world of Asia being industrialized, which it certainly is going to be. Because of that you are going to get a new balance in the world." There was, however, no need to fear that "because it is a prospect that only upsets people whose minds are in ruts."

"The age of indifference and isolation in world affairs is completely past and over. No way is left but to seek world co-operation."

Pandit Nehru was officially welcomed by the Governor of Wisconsin, Mr. Oscar Rannebohn, who said : "Never has Wisconsin been more honoured than by the visit of the Prime Minister of a people who made good their claim to freedom." The Governor called Pandit Nehru as "an apostle of peace and leader of a nation embarked upon democracy."

The University President, Mr. C. B. Fred, introducing the Indian leader, said : "We see in your leadership a golden opportunity for co-operation between your country and ours."

Prof. Philo Buck, a native of India and friend of Pandit Nehru's family, made the opening speech. Two Indian students presented banquets to Pandit Nehru and his daughter.

### **India's Individuality**

It was Pandit Nehru's most comprehensive speech of his tour, which has taken him 9,500 miles across America and into eastern and far western Canada.



Among points he made were India was a country with a definite individuality. This had persisted for a vast period of time in spite of many vicissitudes and foreign domination which had arrested her growth.

India, however, had never allowed her individuality to be suppressed by foreign rule. As soon as political freedom was won there had been an upsurge of arrested and suppressed individuality. This sudden exuberance may often take wrong steps. India had a tendency to assert itself.

“Although I am talking rather in abstruse and psychological terms, I am speaking as a person who has had close experience of the people’s minds,” Pandit Nehru said.

“We are trying to function in one particular way. That way is to follow our individual technique. If I try to function in any other way, the people will pull me back. I cannot go basically against what I know is the people’s mind, as you have to deal with the people.

“When you consider the world to-day it looks as if a few Foreign Ministers would decide the fate of the world, but world politics is not a game of chess which two or three or half-a-dozen Foreign Ministers can solve. We are living in an age which is changing very rapidly—a change which came with the industrial revolution in the West about 200 years ago.

“That change was so important that it completely outstripped the significance of other revolutions such as the French Revolution. We were not able to attune our minds to it, or rather, mentally the people are not



able to catch up with the progress that was being made in the material world. Whereas in the East the seers were able to see life as a whole with all the progress that was being made, people in the West went ahead with the industrial progress and other progress lagged behind. So we find the extraordinary thing that the whole advancement of man has gone forward rather oddly, that the mind of man lags behind the pace of events."

### **Tremendous Progress**

"Tremendous technological progress has been made by which each country has become the neighbour of another. All this progress comes out of the mind of man and yet the same mind does not appear to have gathered the full implication of such a progress. I may say so, sometimes that mind needs the rather rude kick to get it moving in the right direction." (Laughter).

Pandit Nehru then referred to the poverty of the Indian people.

"When we talked to our people of freedom we told them that our first duty was to raise the under-privileged people both in India and outside.

"The coming of political freedom was only a small part of the work. The major and the greater part of the work is still before us. We would have to live in peace and work harder and better in agriculture and industry. We must industrialize our country although I realize that it will fundamentally remain agricultural.

"This process of industrialization may be expedited by the co-operation of the U.S.A. and other countries.



We wish to concentrate on the work and would welcome any assistance that could be given to India on a basis of mutual advantage. Ordinarily, we are not interested in world affairs because we have got this work to do.

“We do not wish to meddle in other people’s affairs. Nevertheless, we just cannot ignore what other people are doing. So we are taking our part in the work of the United Nations.

### **Pivotal Position**

“Whether we want it or not the share of the burden of international relations falls upon us. India is geographically situated in a very strategic and pivotal position whether you consider it from a peace or war point of view, whether in relation to South-East Asia or Western Asia.

“India is deeply affected by what is happening in those countries. If that was so in the past, it is much more so to-day. No country can be indifferent to its neighbour and to-day the neighbour is not merely the country that is next to us. India has got no other aim except that of seeking world co-operation. The only question is how this task is to be approached. Our mind has been conditioned.”

Pandit Nehru here made an appeal for a change in outlook between East and West.

### **Roosevelt’s Invitation**

The Prime Minister thanked President Truman for giving him the opportunity to make this tour. He recalled that seven and a half years ago President Roosevelt had invited him to come to the U.S.A. but on



that occasion he had not been able to accept the invitation.

“I wonder what the course of events would have been had I been able to accept the invitation at that time.

“I have come here not to carry out any deal.

“I would like first of all to give my thanks to President Truman and to the people of the U.S.A.—both people of distinction, and humble people—who have treated me not only as a guest but as a friend and colleague.

“I came here partly in my individual capacity and partly as the Prime Minister of India but even more so as something of a symbol of India. Whatever may be my merits or demerits, this visit has a greater bearing on India than anything in recent years. It is symbolical of a drawing together of peoples which is needed in the present-day world.

“I have no doubt also that it must have a considerable bearing on us and on others. I do not know how history might have been affected had I accepted President Roosevelt's invitation of seven and a half years ago. At that time India was passing through a difficult period and the Cripps Mission was then in the country. That Mission unfortunately failed to bring about any result. It was at that time that I refused that invitation from that great man. I wanted to postpone my visit to the U.S.A. for a week or a month.



“But after that, I was prevented from exercising my right of movement. I have regretted many times since then that I did not accept Roosevelt’s invitation.

“President Truman’s was the next invitation and I am extremely glad that I have had the opportunity of coming to and understanding the United States.”

Addressing himself particularly to the students, Pandit Nehru said that he had remained a student and probably he became more of a student in later years than in the early years of his life. “That was due to the fact that I had been placed in circumstances in which I could do nothing else but study.” (Laughter). That had given him a perspective of the panorama of history and, whenever he had to make big decisions, he looked at them in the perspective of the past and the future. “I am glad that I developed that faculty.”

During the last 30 years, like other Indian leaders, he came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi.

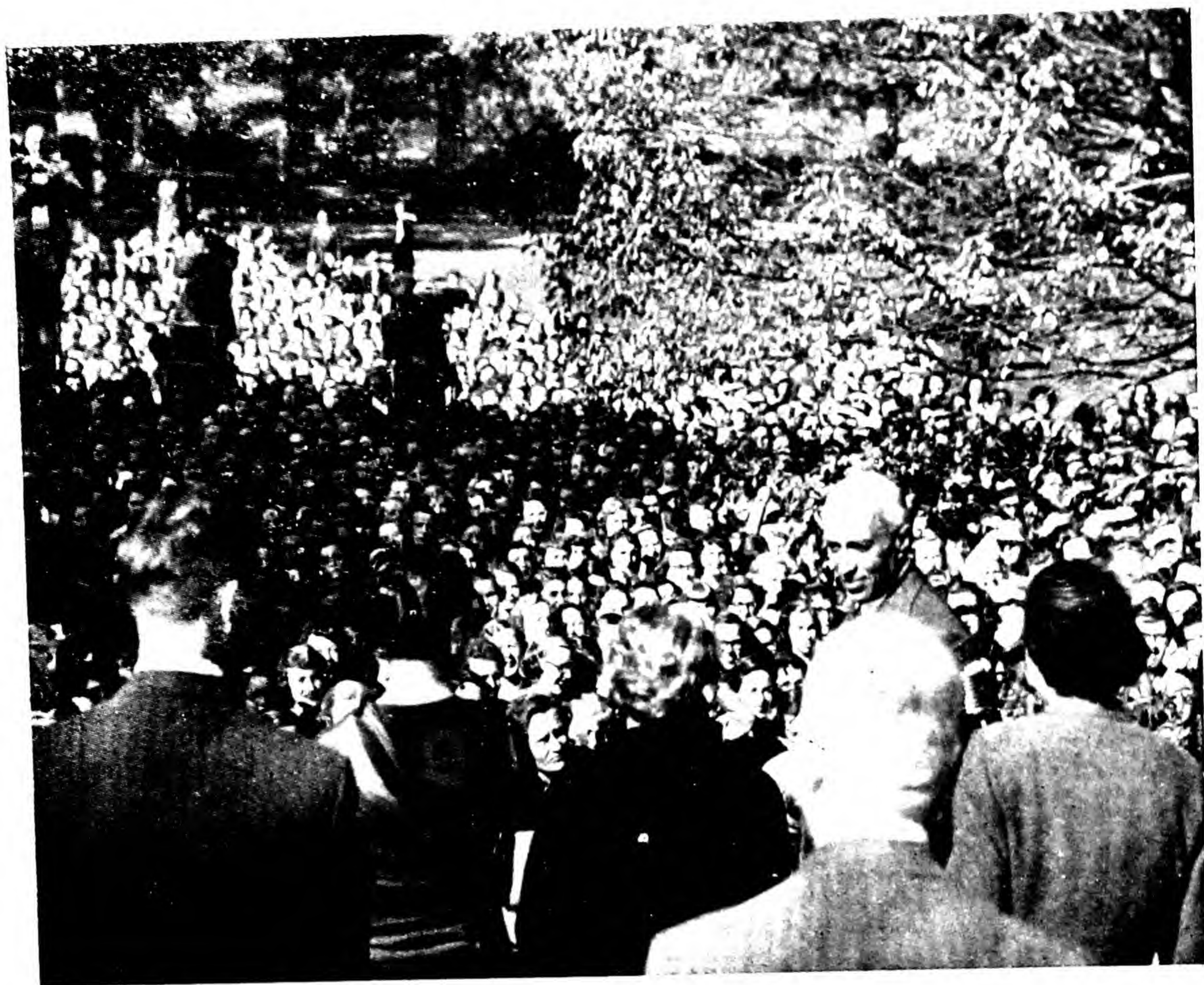
“India’s past tradition was founded on a culture which had prevented it from going to pieces.”

## **The American People**

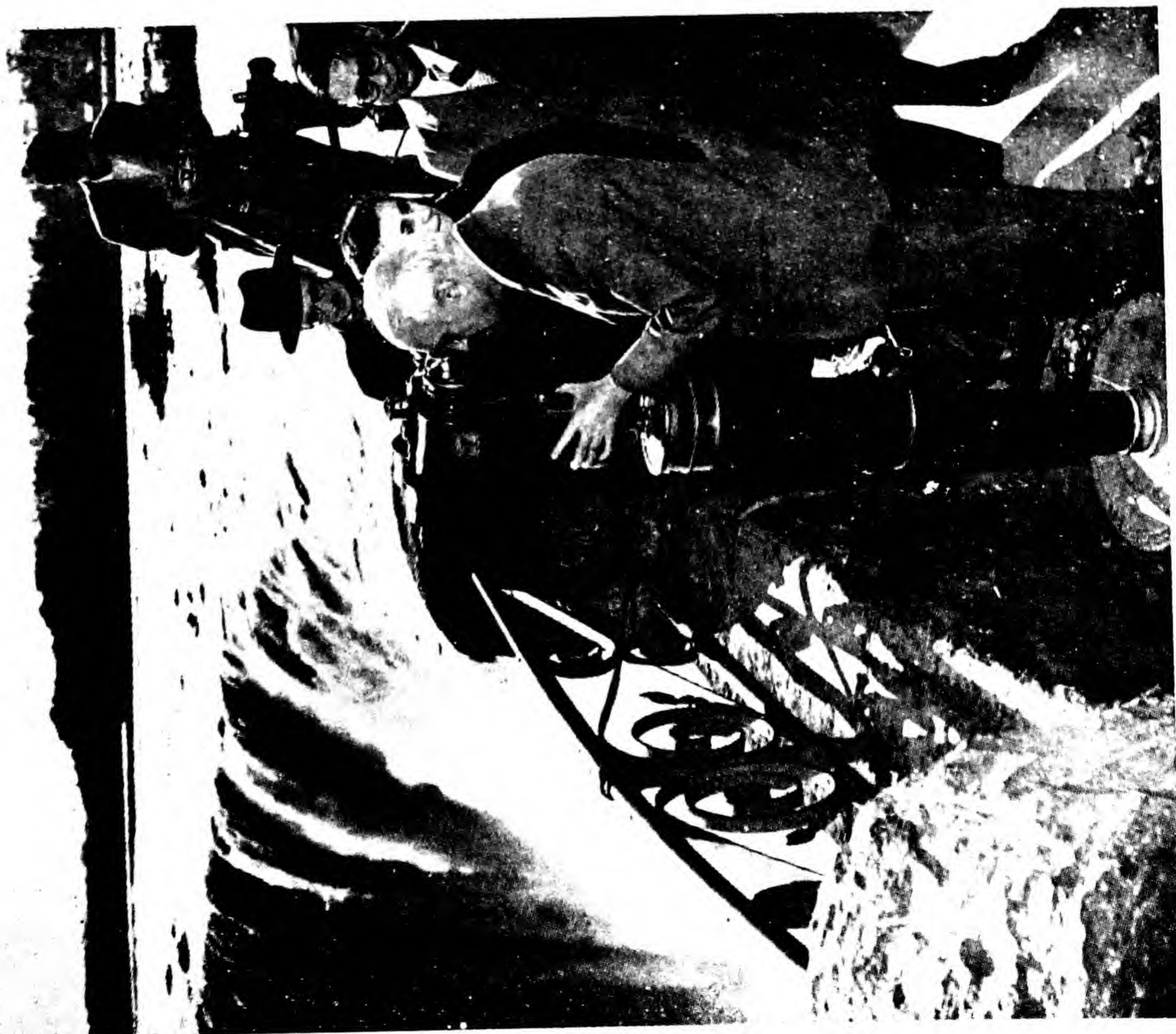
Although he had studied India for many years, he was discovering new aspects of her even to-day. So he could not be expected to discover U.S.A. completely within three weeks, but he had gained an understanding of the springs of action of the American people and their basic moral strength.

What he admired in the American people was their human touch in making a person feel at home.





Nehru visits Wellesley College, Wellesley.



Prime Minister viewing the Falls through binoculars.



BORROWER'S NO.	ISSUE DATE	BORROWER'S NO.	ISSUE DATE
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“When you want to move masses of humanity you can only do so through a receptivity to the minds of others. Although I am not a very static person myself, I do not see why I should allow my mind to rush about this way or the other. To look at to-day alone is not enough. One must take into consideration both the yesterdays and tomorrows of our actions.

“In the context of the modern world, India does not and cannot stand in isolation ; I myself had to study the rest of the world, and I, therefore, came here as a kind of student.

“I like the idea that my last public address should be to University students.”

### **Another Report**

Speaking to 10,000 students of the University of Wisconsin, Pandit Nehru said India was a country with a definite individuality. This had persisted for a vast period of time in spite of many vicissitudes and foreign domination, which had arrested her growth.

India, however, had never allowed her individuality to be suppressed by foreign rule. As soon as political freedom was won there had been an upsurge of arrested and suppressed individuality. This sudden exuberance may often take wrong steps. India had a tendency to assert itself.

“Although I am talking in rather abstruse and psychological terms, I am speaking as a person who has had close experience of the people’s minds,” he said,



"We are trying to function in one particular way. That way is to follow our individual technique. If I try to function in any other way, the people will pull me back. I cannot go basically against what I know is the people's mind, as you have to deal with the people.

"When you consider the world to-day it looks as if a few Foreign Ministers would decide the fate of the world, but world politics is not a game of chess which two or three or half a dozen Foreign Ministers can solve. We are living in an age which is changing very rapidly—a change which came with the industrial revolution in the West about two hundred years ago."

**"That change was so important that it completely outstripped the significance of other revolutions, such as the French Revolution. We were not able to attune our minds to it, or rather, mentally the people were not able to catch up with the progress that was being made in the material world. Whereas in East the seers were able to see life as a whole with all the progress that was being made, people in the West went ahead with industrial progress and other progress lagged behind. So we find the extraordinary thing that the whole advancement of man has gone forward rather oddly, so that the mind of man lags behind the pace of events."**

"Tremendous technological progress has been made by which each country is the neighbour of another. All this progress comes out of the mind of man and yet the same mind does not appear to have gathered the full implication of such progress. If I may say so,



sometimes that mind needs the rather rude kick to get it moving in the right direction."

Referring to the poverty of the Indian people, he said : "When we talked to our people of freedom, we told them that our first duty was to raise the underprivileged people both in India and outside. The coming of political freedom was only a small part of the work, the major and the greater part of the work is still before us. We would have liked to live in peace and work harder and better in agriculture and in industry. We must industrialize our country, although I realize it will fundamentally remain agricultural. This process of industrialization may be expedited by the co-operation of the U.S.A. and other countries.

"We wish to concentrate on the work and would welcome any assistance that could be given India on a basis of mutual advantage. Ordinarily we are not interested in world affairs, because we have got this work to do. We do not wish to meddle in other people's affairs, nevertheless we just cannot ignore what other people are doing, so we are taking our part in the work of the U.N. Whether we want it or not, the share of the burden of international relations falls upon us.

### **Strategic Position**

"India is geographically situated in a very strategic and pivotal position, whether you consider it from a peace or war point of view, whether in relation to South-East Asia or Western Asia.



**“ India is deeply affected by what is happening in those countries. If that was so in the past, it is much more so to-day. No country can be indifferent to its neighbour, and to-day the neighbour is not merely the country that is next to us. India has got no other aim except that of seeking world co-operation. The only question is how this task is to be approached. Our mind has been conditioned.”**

Pandit Nehru appealed for a change in outlook between the East and West.

The Prime Minister thanked President Truman for giving him the opportunity to make this tour. He recalled that seven and a half years ago the late President Roosevelt had invited him to come to the U.S.A. but he had not been able to accept the invitation. “I wonder what the course of events would have been had I been able to accept the invitation at that time.

“I have come here not to carry out any deal. I would like first of all to give my thanks to President Truman and to the people of the U.S.A—both, people of distinction and humble people—who have treated me not only as a guest but as a friend and colleague.

“I came here partly in my individual capacity and partly as the Prime Minister of India, but even more so as something of a symbol of India.

**“Whatever may be my merits or demerits, this visit has a greater bearing on India than anything in recent years. It is symbolical of a drawing together of peoples, which is needed in the present-day world.**



“I have no doubt also that it must have a considerable bearing on us and on others. I do not know how history might have been affected had I accepted President Roosevelt’s invitation of seven and half years ago.

## **Difficult Period**

“At that time India was passing through a difficult period and the Cripps Mission was then in the country. That Mission unfortunately failed to bring about any result. It was at that time that I refused that invitation from that great man. I wanted to postpone my going to the U.S.A. for a week or a month. But after that, I was prevented from exercising my right of movement. I have regretted many times since then that I did not accept President Roosevelt’s invitation.

“President Truman’s was the next invitation, and I am extremely glad that I have had the opportunity of coming to and understanding the U.S.A.”

**Addressing himself particularly to the students, Pandit Nehru said he had remained a student and probably he became more of a student in later years than in the early years of his life. “That was due to the fact that I had been placed in circumstances in which I could do nothing else but study.”**

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“India’s past tradition was founded on a culture which had prevented it from going to pieces.” Although he had studied India for many years he was discovering new aspects of her even to-day, so it could not be expected that he could discover the U. S. A. completely within three weeks, but he had gained an understanding of the springs of action of the American people and their basic moral strength.

What he admired in the American people was their human touch in making a person feel at home. “When you want to move masses of humanity you can only do so through a receptivity to the minds of others. Although I am not a very static person myself, I do not see why I should allow my mind to rush about this way or the other. To look at to-day alone is not enough. One must take into consideration both the yesterdays and tomorrows of our actions.

**“In the context of the modern world, India does not and cannot stand in isolation. I myself had to study the rest of the world, and I therefore came here as a kind of student. I like the idea that my last public address should be to University students.”**

Pandit Nehru met representatives of Indian students at the University. They spoke about their difficulties resulting from devaluation and about the possibility of doing useful work in India. He told the students to write to him in New York about their difficulties.



## AMONG THE COLOURED PEOPLE

(New York : November 6, 1949)

### “Leader Of Suffering Humanity”

Pandit Nehru at New York received the American Spingarn Medal for services to Negroes, met American Negro leaders and visited Harlem, New York's Negro district.

The medal is awarded annually by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People to the person who has done most for Negroes in the past year.

The citation for the award described Pandit Nehru as “one of the patient, wise and persistent leaders who has won the utmost from a historical process—the new spirit of freedom fermenting in the breasts of the Asian and African people.”

The presentation was made at a quiet ceremony in Waldorf-Astoria which, the organizers said, was held “in spite of the U.S. State Department.”

Pandit Nehru received the medal and an honorary life membership in the Association after his return to the hotel from a visit to Princeton University, New Jersey.

The Prime Minister was having a busy day of engagements and will continue them on Monday up to 7-50 G.M.T., when he is due to leave for London in President Truman's personal plane, *Independence*.

The presentation of the medal and the other honour day before was sponsored by Mrs. Robert I. Van, publisher of the Independent Negr onewspaper, the



*Pittsburg Courier* in recognition of Pandit Nehru's "leadership in the struggle of human beings everywhere to win freedom, security and happiness."

Some of the leaders accompanied Pandit Nehru on his tour of Harlem. He visited a large housing project for Negroes, the Harlem market and the Harlem hospital, where he went through the wards and saw Negro and White doctors working together. Last night the Prime Minister and his party saw the musical comedy, *South Pacific*, for which all tickets have been sold until next May. Mr. Oscar Hammerstein, who wrote the show's lyrics, gave Pandit Nehru seven tickets.

Pandit Nehru was spending the day giving interviews to people who have been eager to meet him. Among those he was seeing were Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America and Dr. C. N. Tsiang, head of the Chinese U. N. delegation.

Among those at the Waldorf-Astoria ceremony were Mr. P. L. Prattis, editor of *The Courier*, who met Pandit Nehru on a recent visit to India, Mr. Roy Wilkins, an official of the Association, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Then Mr. Walter White, American Negro leader and the Association's secretary for many years, took Pandit Nehru to a Park Avenue flat where other American Negro leaders and White supporters of Negroes' rights were gathered at a tea party in the Prime Minister's honour. Among the eminent Negroes



present were Mr. William Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, Mr. Irvin C. Mollison, first Negro federal court judge, and Dr. Ralph Bunche, former U. N. mediator in Palestine.

In the afternoon Pandit Nehru, his sister and daughter were touring New York Harbour on the yacht of Gen. Walter Bedell-Smith, former U. S. Ambassador in Moscow and now Commander of the U. S. First Army. The next day morning Pandit Nehru was given an interview to Mr. B. N. Rau, India's permanent delegate to the United Nations. Later, he was holding a Press conference at Waldorf-Astoria.

Reports that Pandit Nehru's last week-end in New York would be "free" increased the flood of requests for interviews and for his attendance at various functions. Among those who saw him during the week-end was a representative of President Miguel Aleman of Mexico, who brought a most pressing request that Pandit Nehru visit Mexico "even for a few hours" but Pandit Nehru had to decline this invitation because his programme was already full and his departure for London and India could not be delayed.

Mrs. Vann in making the presentation of the Spingam Medal to Pandit Nehru said: "American Negroes have been heartened, encouraged and inspired by the new spirit of freedom fermenting in the hearts of the Asian and African peoples. The spirit is a significant and concrete force in the fight to establish recognition of human rights as one of the great historical advances in the 20th century."



Paying a tribute to Pandit Nehru as leader of this movement of freedom she said : "American Negroes salute you as one of the patient, wise and persistent leaders to win the utmost from this historical process. We desire to pay a tribute to you as a humanitarian, statesman, moralist and practical idealist. Because we believe your leadership leavens the struggle of human beings everywhere to win freedom, security and happiness, we present you to-day this life membership of N. A. A. C. P."

Mr. White in an interview said that it was necessary to wait until the "official" portion of Pandit Nehru's visit to the U. S. A. had been concluded before Negroes could make their presentation. Mr. White said : "It would be unfair to say that the State Department prevented us from seeing Nehru, but it is quite correct to say that our arrangements for visiting him were made entirely on our own without any help from the State Department and in spite of the State Department."

Mr. White said that several months ago in New Delhi he had approached American officials with the idea that Pandit Nehru when in the U. S. A. "should be given an opportunity to meet and talk with many Negroes not in segregated circumstances but in the general course of the visit."

He thought that this would show Pandit Nehru "how we have been able to advance over here."

He said, however, that American officials turned their thumbs down on the idea because "you know how explosive the racial questions are in the U. S. A."



Pandit Nehru himself declined to comment on a report in a New York newspaper urging him against seeing coloured people "particularly Paul Robeson," noted Negro singer, who had expressed on frequent occasions his admiration of Russia. However, in Washington a State Department spokesman said that the report was "preposterous." He said that the State Department would not interfere with any desires Pandit Nehru might have while visiting the U. S. A.



## NEHRU MEETS U.S. NEGRO LEADERS

*(November 7, 1949)*

A small group of America's outstanding Negro leaders from many walks of life met Saturday afternoon with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for nearly two hours at the home of Mrs. Robert Lehman, daughter of Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde, now U.S. United Nations delegate and former minister to Denmark, and grand daughter of William Jennings Bryan, a presidential candidate and Secretary of State in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, former U.N. mediator for Palestine and now director of the U.N. Division of Trusteeship, and Walter White, who is on leave of absence as executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, acted as hosts.

Such distinguished Negro leaders as educator Mary Mcleod Bethune, Lester Granger, head of the Urban League, Appeals Court Judge William H. Hastie, former governor of the Virgin Islands, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, Judge Irving Millison of the U.S. Customs Court, George Weaver of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, who flew especially from Cleveland, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, economist at New York University, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and Dr. Louis T. Wright, surgical director of Harlem Hospital, were present.



Mrs. Rohde, Claude Barnett, D. S. Gottesman, Albert M. Greenfield, Mrs. Simon Guggenheim, Mrs. Lester Hofheimer, Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., Arthur B. Stingarn, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Buttinger, and Mrs. White also were present.

### **Informal Discussions Hold**

Mrs. Lehman, whose husband is a cousin of former New York Governor and present Senate candidate Herbert Lehman, said many of the group sat around on the floor, discussing informally the condition of the American Negro and other minority groups. She considered the meeting "very successful", and noted that the Negro leaders were "all extremely interesting" and represented different walks of life. Mrs. Lehman herself is a member of the NAACP.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said the occasion was "a meeting we were all very glad could take place. Some of the people present are among the best informed leaders in their fields."

Wilkins feels the meeting was "very profitable" for "it gave the Prime Minister an opportunity to ask some questions". The gathering was a "give and take proposition", Wilkins said, with short comments from many of those present. Weaver, for example, spoke on labour and the Negro in organized labour. Comments grew out of a previous remark, or a question from Nehru, and were entirely spontaneous.

The Prime Minister, Wilkins said, expressed his interest in the meeting and said he felt the afternoon



had been very profitable. Many of the Negro leaders present told Nehru of the keen appreciation of American Negroes of the struggle the Indian people have had for freedom and spoke of the sympathy with which they watched India's independence movement. They expressed, also, their gratitude for the moral tone of the Prime Minister's speeches in the United States.

Wilkins' own reaction to Nehru is: "He's a wonderful person. The power of his personality is unobtrusive, yet pervading. I was quite taken with him."

Saturday's tea at Mrs. Lehman's home was not Wilkins' first meeting with the Indian leader. He had met him first at the Waldorf reception given by Mrs. Pandit during Nehru's first stay in New York, saw him a few days later at a private reception given by Mrs. Dorothy Norman, and then again at a banquet at the Waldorf.



## A TALK AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA PRESS CONFERENCE

### P.M. Reviews Month-long 'Exciting' Tour

*Pandit Nehru left for London in President Truman's plane, 'The Independence,' after a historic, month-long tour of America. He was expected in London at 11 a.m., G.M.T. on November 8.*

*Pandit Nehru was accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. G.S. Bajpai and members of his staff.*

*He was seen off at the airport by Mr. Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Stanley Woodward, Chief of Protocol, and other high officials of the State Department and a large number of Indians, including members of the Indian delegation to the United Nations.*

At a Press conference at Waldorf-Astoria two hours before his departure, the Prime Minister said his tour "would lead to a greater understanding and friendly approach to all questions on both sides."

Speaking in low tones and feeling terms, Pandit Nehru reviewed his 10,000-mile tour. He said it had lasted nearly a month "and during this period I have had a wonderful and exciting time."

"I think, personally, I have profited from it." He added smilingly : "I do not know who else has profited from it. I am going away this afternoon, and I wish to say good-bye to all of you."



“I think whatever else might happen as a result of my visit, it will undoubtedly result in greatly improved relations between India and the U. S.A., that is, improvement in a rather fundamental way, in the sense that there will be greater understanding and friendly approach on all questions on both sides.”

Pandit Nehru expressed “deep gratitude” to the U.S. President and Government “for the very generous hospitality and all the arrangements that were made for my visit to various parts of the country.”

He also thanked the people of the States for the friendly sentiments that had been expressed to him wherever he had gone. “Everywhere they were exceedingly friendly, hospitable and generous.”

He said that the visit was “a wonderful and mentally exciting” one. “I found the Americans a fascinating people and a mixture of hard-headedness and sentimentality.”

“I am going back because I must,” he said. “I have work to do. It is with a deep feeling of regret that I am going back.”

This ended Pandit Nehru’s prefatory remarks.

The Prime Minister then stood up to answer each question directed to him from various parts of the hall.

Pandit Nehru was asked : “When do you expect the first consignment out of the 1,000,000 tons of wheat that India has asked from the U.S.A.”



Pandit Nehru replied : "I have not the least notion, because as far as I know these matters are under discussion and no final decision has yet been reached."

**On the Kashmir issue, Pandit Nehru said that he expected a settlement within the framework of the United Nations. He added that he had suggested that India and Pakistan should make a formal declaration that this question should be settled by peaceful means.**

On the subject of capital investment in India, Pandit Nehru said that development would be slow if India depended only on domestic capital. He said that there had recently been a "shift-over" in the income groups in India.

Those who used to invest money had less money in their hands now, and money had been spread out into the hands of a larger number of people who were not familiar with investing their money.

He was asked whether he would recognize the Communist Government of China. "The happenings in China are such that they cannot be ignored."

Pandit Nehru was asked whether the Indian Government would recognize the Government of Israel. He said : "The Government of Israel is not something doubtful, but is a continuing fact. The Government of India are very well aware that the Israel Government is functioning. Of course, there has been no formal recognition but we have friendly relations." He said that India was not anti-Semitic.

**He was asked whether the Government of India were going to hang the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi.**



**He replied : "Even yesterday I received a letter from some Americans on this subject. The position is that some time ago Indians were considering the abolition of the death penalty, but it does not seem logical that persons who commit ordinary murders should, meanwhile, be hanged and a man who assassinates our greatest leader should be exempted."**

Pandit Nehru declared that on the wider issue of capital punishment, India would probably be in favour of its abolition. "Long ago, I had my personal reactions when I was in prison. From what I have seen, I would much sooner be hanged than suffer life imprisonment."

Asked whether Mahatma Gandhi himself had not been against hanging, Pandit Nehru said : "Gandhiji was not only against the death penalty but even against imprisonment. You cannot expect that his principles should be adopted just in one case and not in the case of others."

Asked about the arrest of "trade unionists" in India, Pandit Nehru said that, so far as he knew, no person was imprisoned there simply because he was a trade unionist. Arrests had been made because of their connection with violent activities and intended sabotage.

"There had been plenty of open appeal for sabotage in India. I do not think you will find any country, including the U.S.A., where there is so much freedom of expression in the Press. Where there are appeals to violence and actual violence, no Government can tolerate it unless it is prepared to abdicate."



Pandit Nehru said that the appeal to violence and sabotage had come at a time when certain railway unions had refused to obey the mandates of their own leaders. The disorganization of communications was even deliberately intended to disrupt food supplies to needy provinces. "Therefore it was decided to arrest the leaders of the strike-plus-sabotage movement."

Pandit Nehru said that most of the persons who had been detained without trial in India were not Communists, but were "their opposite numbers," namely, communal agitators.

Pandit Nehru was asked whether he had any "last minute change of views" on the proposed South-East Asia Union. He said nothing had happened in the U.S.A. or in South-East Asia for a revision of the views he had already expressed. For the time being, India's relations with South-East Asia would in the main be consultation on common problems and cultural co-operation.

On the question of Indo-China, Pandit Nehru said that no settlement imposed by an "outside Power" could work in that country. A settlement could come only if it was based on the goodwill of the vast majority of the people.

The Prime Minister referred to the Asian conference held in Delhi and said that a resolution had been passed there on which all countries were agreed. It was felt at that time that Asian problems were too big and too varied. The problems of Western Asia and South-East Asia were different. It was felt, therefore,



that there might be regional co-operation in regard to certain problems and general co-operation where necessary.

India's position was peculiar. India came into the picture in relation to Western, South-Eastern and other Asian countries.

“Take Indonesia, for instance. I hope that things there will lead to a settlement. Until the situation is cleared up, we cannot go very far in fuller co-operation in common policies. In the main, it means that our immediate relations must be in the region of consultations and cultural co-operation.”

Another question dealt with the political future of such North African colonies as Tunisia and Algeria. Pandit Nehru was asked what advice he could offer for the peoples of those countries. He said : “You can hardly expect me to advise these countries without going into all the facts. It is my belief that all these countries of North Africa should be independent, but whether they should be separately independent or should be federated is a question for them to decide.

“It should be remembered, however, that for very small countries independence is nominal because they can be neither economically self-sufficient nor politically strong. Therefore, the question of each such country has to be considered in the light of its circumstances.”

He was asked about the prospects of a trade agreement between India and the U.S.A. An agreement of trade and friendship had for some time been discussed but “these things take time.”



Pandit Nehru's tour of the U.S.A. and Canada, having practically concluded, the time has come for a review of the visit. The "Voyage of Discovery" is necessarily incomplete in the little time at his disposal, but certain broad conclusions might be drawn.

The "Nehru legend" will grow in America, where it is already deeply planted, and since personal forces count for a good deal in the modern world, it will to that extent help raise India's status also.

Pandit Nehru has, by what he has been saying, put India definitely on the way to becoming a third great force in the world, the first two being the U.S.A. and Russia.

He has made Asian liberation an urgent problem of the Modern world and has presumably greatly influenced American thought to the effect that Washington and New Delhi must jointly undertake the task. The practical result of this will immediately be felt in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Pandit Nehru has advised that the China question should be considered, dispassionately and hinted at the desirability of an early recognition of the new regime. He holds the view that the Chinese problem is essentially agrarian and once it is solved China will presumably find herself free from Moscow's influence. He has asked Washington to develop an Asian outlook on the promise of Indian co-operation.

*One happy result for India will be that his visit has excited the right atmosphere for practical work to be done by Mr. Girja Shankar Bajpai and Mr. Chintaman*



*Deshmukh. He has explained the Kashmir situation, and it is hoped that India's case will be fully appreciated now. One might guess that he has by the very friendly manner of his approach exposed Pakistan in true light.*

Above all, this philosopher among statesmen, this spiritual heir of Mahatma Gandhi has impressively preached the doctrine of one world, one problem and one solution—peace, unity and justice for all.



## AT A PRESS CONFERENCE

*(London : November 12, 1949)*

### **"Pakistan Will Be Beaten Back In Kashmir and Thrown Aside"**

With his voice vibrating with unusual emotion, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, branded Pakistan as the aggressor in Kashmir, at a crowded Press conference of over 200 representatives of British and the world press.

"India was there as a protector at the invitation of the lawful Government of Kashmir and the popular leader of the people ; but what do the armies of Pakistan do there? I ask you for a straight answer to that question," he asked with passion.

"The one is a robber and an invader ; the other is a friend of the country going in as a friend of the people. India will not put up with this, no matter what are the consequences," Pandit Nehru said.

Questions asked of Pandit Nehru covered the entire globe from the future of British Borneo and Tibet to American wheat for India.

Pandit Nehru stated, in answer to a question as to what were the hopes of early settlement of the Kashmir problem, that he supposed this question would come up before the Security Council at the beginning of next month. It was very difficult for him, however, to say whether the problem would be finally settled.

"Kashmir has aroused tremendous passions in India and outside," said Pandit Nehru, "but we should be clear in our minds that there should be no resort to arms"



force. Frankly, I have the strongest and most passionate feeling about Kashmir and I will not put up with any bullying by Pakistan or any other country in the world."

He declared that Pakistan had committed in Kashmir "the most brutal aggression in the whole world" even taking into account what happened in Poland. People outside India proceeded on the assumption that as 80 per cent of Kashmir's population was Muslim, it should, for that reason, accede to Pakistan.

His voice rising passionately, Pandit Nehru added: "This is a completely false impression. It is ultimately the people of Kashmir who will have to decide regardless of Pakistan.

"Pakistan has no standing but that of an aggressor which would be beaten back and thrown aside.

The Prime Minister went on: "Whatever the position of India in Kashmir under international law, what position have the armies of Pakistan? I want to know that."

### **Flagrant Lie**

Kashmir acceded to India, and India was responsible for Kashmir when the Pakistan army went in. This last fact had been denied before the Security Council, denied everywhere. He had never heard a more flagrant, a more outrageous lie.

"India will not put up with this, no matter what are the consequences."

Referring to letters in English newspapers on Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said he wanted to be clear about the true situation with regard to India and Pakistan.



“One is a robber and an invader,” he exclaimed. “The other is a friend of the country, going in as a friend of the people.”

“We shall not permit Pakistan to go into its usual tactics of creating religious feuds, as they have done elsewhere.”

## **Two-nation Theory**

India did not accept the two-nation theory, otherwise there were 35 million Muslims in India who could be held to be citizens of Pakistan, the Prime Minister said.

Partition had been agreed to by India on a territorial basis, not on the basis of the two-nation theory.

The vast majority of Muslims were against the two-nation theory. In the final analysis, the conflict in Kashmir was not between Hindus and Muslims, but between people who wanted freedom based on Kashmiri nationalism, with all the population pulling together, and believers in the two-nation theory that nationality went by religion and should be based on that more or less.

Practically every single individual who had fought for independence for Kashmir was on India's side. Those who had not fought were always talking about Kashmir being “liberated from the Hindus.”

As soon as Pandit Nehru sat down, having been listened to for several minutes in dead silence, excited questions were flung at him from all directions.



## AMONG THE INDIAN NATIONALS

*(London : November 12, 1949)*

### **Every Indian's Duty To Enhance Country's Prestige Abroad**

Over 1,000 Indian residents in London heard Pandit Nehru appeal to them at a reception on Saturday evening to contribute each in your own way to build a strong new India and enhance her prestige and credit abroad.

Speaking in Hindustani, Pandit Nehru said that India has won political freedom, but she had still to win economic freedom. The greatest task before the people was at present to remove poverty and increase the national wealth. This task was not one which would be achieved by a government decree. This was a task in which every individual Indian should co-operate.

India had a great history and tradition behind her. But this great past could be an advantage and a disadvantage. It was an advantage because it was a rich heritage of culture to be proud of. It was also a disadvantage in that it often tended to make the people look back. A young nation had to look forward in order to take her proper place in the modern world. So it was India's task as a nation which had just emerged as independent to cherish her past traditions and derive inspiration from them and at the same time to march forward in the modern world.



India, Pandit Nehru said, had pledged herself in the international sphere to the cause of peace, but peace was not something which was permanent.

It could not be preserved against the forces of evil or aggression by inaction, fear or abject surrender. India must be strong in every direction to fulfil this great aim. The strength of a country did not lie only in her armed forces, navy, army and air force. The real strength of a country lies in her people, their soundness of character and her national wealth.

In achieving this object, Pandit Nehru said, India had the unique good fortune of having such an example as that of Mahatma Gandhi before them. His teachings were reflected not only in India's international policy of peace, but they had left their deep imprint on the very character of the people.

He said it was the duty of every Indian inside or outside India to do everything in his or her power to enhance the prestige and credit of India in every way possible.

The task of building up, a country was not for one or even a large number of individuals. It was a job for all of them working together. The leaders could show the way, but the people as a whole must have the will to work as a team, with the consciousness that, however, small his own particular job, he was helping to build up that new India which they all wanted to bring into being.

Answering some specific questions about work for students returning from abroad, Pandit Nehru said



that it was the policy of the Government in the matter of the scholars they were financing that in all cases they were sent with the object of fitting them for definite jobs. But in all cases of students returning from their education abroad, the Government of India were certainly trying their best to find ways and means of absorbing them in useful employment. It would be not only their loss but the country's loss if the knowledge and experience they had gained at great cost to themselves or to the state were not utilised.

### **Communist's Demonstration**

While Pandit Nehru was addressing the students inside, about five persons including an Indian girl were walking up and down on the kerb opposite the India House, carrying placards crying slogans like "Recognise China", "Restore Civil Liberties", "India shall not be a base of Aggression" and "Not a pie for Anglo-American war-mongering".

Some persons were seen distributing handbills issued by the Indian Communists in Great Britain reading "Nehru selling out to Wall Street."

Post-cards bearing the picture of East European partisans at a machine-gun demanding on behalf of the World Festival of Youth and Students the release of eight youths sentenced to death in Telengana, were also distributed by some of the demonstrators. The post-cards, said to be part of a signature campaign by a world youth movement were addressed to Pandit Nehru.

Pandit Nehru replied to a series of questions at the Press conference.



Some one asked : "Is Communism a growing threat in India ? Are you satisfied that the Communists are not making headway ?"

Pandit Nehru replied : "I believe that two provinces, Bengal and Madras, have declared the Communist Party illegal because of certain activities in those particular provinces. As a whole, the Party has not been declared illegal by the Government of India. The whole question is viewed not from the point of view of Communism, but from the point of view of certain violent activities in certain areas. In the wider sense, I do not think it is a growing threat at all. In the local sense, it is very troublesome. Ideology does not come into it at all."

**Asked if he thought Communist victory in China would lead to the growth of Communism in India, Pandit Nehru replied : "I will be quite frank with you. I think the Communist Party in India is the most stupid Party there has ever been anywhere."**

"It has done more damage to Communist ideals than any opponents of Communism, because it has set itself out to fight every natural nationalist urge of the Indian people. It has set the whole of the nationalist movement against it.

"It has adopted methods which are completely violent and in the nature of rebellion, or petty rebellion, because it has not the strength for a big one.

"It has functioned in such a way as to irritate exceedingly all types of opinion in India, except their own.



“My own information is that even within the Communist Party people have disagreed with its policy and have expressed disapproval.

### **Exaggeration.**

Asked why “several thousand people,” including trade union leaders, were in gaol in India without having been brought to trial, Pandit Nehru said it was perfectly true that men were in prison for activities concerned with violent open rebellion, but the number had been grossly exaggerated and probably ran to two or three thousand.

“I say with a full sense of responsibility,” continued the Indian Prime Minister, “that no Government in the world, unless it surrendered its governmental functions, could have acted with such generosity as the Indian Government towards rebels against the state.”

When the change-over from British rule took place, there was an enormous upheaval in Northern India. It involved, he was ashamed to say, inhuman killings in Pakistan and on the Indian side. Twelve million people were on the move. In this background, the big change from British rule after 150 years released all kinds of forces, reactionary as well as progressive.

Every advantage was taken of this situation by reactionaries, whether the landed aristocracy or the old Indian states.

No Government could afford to allow forces to preach disorder, sabotage, and violence at such a time. Action had to be taken against individual Communists.



“When the Indian Federation of Railwaymen, which is a big federation of railwaymen, talked in terms of a strike but decided not to have it, some Communists in the federation refused to obey. Some Communist-controlled unions then issued instructions for sabotage, for the blowing up of railway installations and stations. We have these documents in our possession.”

“Was any Government going to look on and see these acts and do nothing at such a time ? The good of India was not considered by those who were causing the trouble—only a desire to create chaos. It would have been very easy for the Communist party to have dissociated itself from this, but it had not done so. Some of the leading people in the organisation took great care not to be connected outwardly with various acts. They organised them and remained underground.

“The practice followed concerned those who were caught and interned was that a bench of judges of the High Court were shown all the papers concerning each man, if they decided there was not sufficient evidence against a prisoner, he was released. It was not a judicial trial, but it was consideration by the highest judicial authority in the land.

### **Indian Barter Deal For American Wheat**

Pandit Nehru was questioned about a reported Indian barter deal for American wheat. He was asked if it was not unfair for individual Commonwealth countries to make barter deals with countries outside with the consequent loss of dollars to the sterling area dollar pool.



Pandit Nehru said India had made no deal. "It is true," he added, "that we are anxious to get wheat as cheaply as possible—if possible, free." This remark was greeted with laughter.

Pandit Nehru added: "On a deferred payment system, so that we can pay four or five years later."

**Later, he was asked what form the dollar import cuts would take. He replied: "India does not wish to spend dollars at all except when it is absolutely necessary. We have stopped all luxury goods. Some dollar goods, however, are essential to us, especially certain types of machinery. If we cannot get them in the sterling area, we shall have to get them in the dollar area."**

Asked how soon the Indian Government would recognise the Communist Chinese Government, Pandit Nehru said the Indian Government "would take steps in accordance with reality."

These steps would naturally be taken after consultation with other countries of the Commonwealth.

"We decide for ourselves, of course," the Prime Minister added: "Consultation does not mean we are tied up with them. We have asked our ambassador in Nanking to come back to report to us."

Another journalist asked when India would recognise Israel. Pandit Nehru replied: "I should think it is pretty obvious that Israel has got to be recognised some time." He would not be visiting Arab countries on his way back to India since he would already be late for the opening of the Constituent Assembly.



## **Peace Treaty For Japan**

Answering a question as to how soon a peace treaty would be signed with Japan, Pandit Nehru said : "The sooner it comes, the better."

**Asked about safeguards for the future, he said that it would have dangerous consequences to try to bottle up a country like Japan but naturally some attempt should be made to prevent Japan's strength going into military channels.**

## **Indo-China**

Referring to Indo-China, Pandit Nehru denied that a memorandum had been sent by the Indian Government to the British Government. It was completely wrong. No demarche had been made. There was some routine exchange of information. "Generally speaking," the Prime Minister added, "Our view is that in Indo-China the situation cannot be dealt with by military means, which arouses all the resentment of national elements once they feel a foreign power is using military force to compel them."

**Asked if India would recognise the Bao Dai Government if the French decided to withdraw their forces, Pandit Nehru said that India would recognise any government which had the support of the people of Indo-China.**

## **Nehru Explains India's Attitude Towards Tibet and Malaya**

On Malaya, Pandit Nehru said the whole population problem there was "extraordinarily confused".



Normally one would say that the people should have independence, but it happened that the Malaysians were a minority in their own country.

It was difficult to say how the change-over should take place, but the sooner it took place the better it would be for peace. There were economic causes of discontent and these should be removed.

There had been a great deal of murder and killing on behalf of groups who were ranged against the Government. The Government could not naturally permit these killings to go on. But at the same time, the Government should try to bring about a balance of Malaya's national problems.

Answering a question regarding the attitude of India to Tibet, Pandit Nehru said that India has always recognised the suzerainty of the Chinese Government over Tibet but Tibet was considered an autonomous unit and India's dealings with Tibet had been on that basis.

"We have become involved recently in this question of Tibet only because the route from Tibet to China lies through India," he said

A correspondent asked what would be the attitude of India if the new Republic of Indonesia lay any claim to British Borneo.

Pandit Nehru replied that so far as he knew, no Indonesian leader had made any such claim at any time.



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